

# THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

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## CRITICAL STATE OF CUBA.

THE intelligence from Cuba brought by the last mail is of the deepest interest; and, while it is calculated, on the one hand, to awaken sympathy for the suffering negroes, is not less calculated, on the other, to inspire animating hopes of some salutary change.

It appears that the alarm excited by the two insurrections of the slaves in the neighbourhood of Matanzas, in November last, has induced a course of extreme severity, not only towards the parties known to have been implicated, but towards the negroes in general. The Government and planters have made extensive and rigorous inquiries, with a view to ascertain whether any concert existed among the slaves, and, if so, to what objects it was directed; and it is said that a negress on one of the five sugar estates which followed the movement of the Triumvirato (the sugar estate on which the revolt commenced) has revealed to her master what in the letters is called "a dreadful plot." In consequence of this there have been arrested a large number of negroes, together with three white men, the latter of whom were put in prison at Matanzas. More than fifteen hundred slaves were summoned in order to witness the execution of sixteen of their companions, with the view of inspiring terror; but it is stated that these men went to their death with such an air of intrepidity and triumph, that the effect produced on the spectators was the opposite of that which was intended. From this it has resulted that the Government has refrained from further public executions, and has rather given the negroes over in a mass to be punished by their masters at pleasure, and with as little noise as possible. The consequence of such a measure may well be imagined; and yet imagination must fail to realize it. The resentment of the planters, aggravated by their fears, is without bounds, and murderous cruelties are practised without scruple on every hand. Many slaves have already died under the lash, and the whole island is said to be deluged with blood.

The investigations of the Government have elicited the fact that four or five large estates between Guines and Melena had been implicated in the plot said to have been discovered. From the uniform declarations of the negroes, it appears that the opinion has spread among them that they either are free, or ought to be so. Some are persuaded that the Queen of Spain has sent out two *cartas* to the governor, giving them their freedom; some have been told that they are free as having been imported since the year 1820, and therefore contrary to the treaty with England; and some have arrived at the noble sentiment that they ought to be free, because they are men, as well as their masters. No doubt can be entertained that the emancipation of the slaves in the British islands has become the primary source from which these ideas have emanated; and the prevalence of them among the slaves in Cuba demonstrates at once the impossibility of preventing their diffusion, and the impossibility likewise of preventing their influence wherever they are diffused. They are now permanent elements in the condition of Cuba, of a far more serious kind than have ever yet impregnated the community. Several free negroes are reported to have been implicated in the plot, and its object is said to have been known by all the negroes in the country.

The destruction of so many slaves, while it must inflict on the planters a heavy loss of property, must at the same time greatly reduce the amount of labour available for the cultivation of the estates, and on this account it might be supposed that the demand for fresh ones would be increased. The alarm felt by the planters may, consequently, be measured by the fact that they will not add to the number of their slaves. In the midst of this excitement the brig *Palmyra* has arrived from Africa, with a cargo of slaves belonging to the notorious Pedro Blanco, to the number of eleven hundred and four, and not one of them can find a purchaser. Five hundred of them are in a baracoon near Havana, where they cannot be sold; and five hundred are distributed among some of his friends, who are to have their labour for their keep. In one word, consternation reigns in Cuba. Already a reduced crop of sugar is anticipated, and the value of real property is reduced almost to zero. The Captain-general does not dare, either to disseminate his troops, or to allow the organization of local militia. He has contented himself with purchasing several hundred iron chains for the feet, and distributing them among the plantations!

In their distress, the immediate and most urgent cry of the planters is, Stop the slave-trade; bring us no more negroes! But to this the Captain-general will lend no ear. The petitions on this subject of which our readers have already heard, were got up and presented to him by men of the first rank and influence, some of them nobles of Spain; but he received them with a most

repulsive discourtesy. It seems that a political feeling is artfully connected with this subject; and that the Government chooses to suspect all who object to the slave-trade of disaffection to Spain, and a desire after the political independence of Cuba. The real reason, however, why even the present calamities cannot interrupt the slave-trade is, that it yields such immense wealth to the functionaries who possess the Government, and who are largely bribed by half a dozen desperate speculators to connive at its continuance.

Another circumstance indicates the infatuation of the Government. Amidst the state of things we have faintly described, the court abandons itself entirely to pleasure. Grand balls and splendid amusements are the order of the day. The city of Havana is represented as "mad with rejoicing," in order to celebrate the arrival of the young Queen of Spain at her majority!

And to crown this melancholy business with an element almost too farcical for the connexion in which we are obliged to place it, the Government of Spain has sent out a royal order, constituting five persons into a Committee, to investigate the truth of the allegations made by the English Government as to the continuance of the slave-trade, and, "if existing (!), to check it by suitable restrictions not inimical to commerce and agriculture." Of this Committee the Captain-general is President; and the other parties named are Don Joaquin Gomez, the Marquis de las Delicias (well-known partizans of the slave-trade), Don Juan Montalue, the Count de Vervandina, Don Rafael de Quesada, brother to the celebrated General Quesada, and the Marquis de Donadieu. No doubt the British Consul at Havana will give a good account of these proceedings to his Government.

## THE SUGAR QUESTION.

IN our last Number we laid before our readers the Address to the Friends of the Negro, which has been circulated by Messrs. Spencer, Blair, and Anstie, with a view to obtain signatures, in order, of course, to show to what extent the sentiments it contains are held by the friends of the Anti-slavery cause; and we added to this document some of the many letters to which it has given rise. To-day we give several more letters: that from Lord Brougham has been written in consequence of the address having been shown to him by a third party. It remains for us now to state our own view of the case.

In proceeding to the expression of our sentiments, in which we must use all frankness and sincerity, we hope to abstain from every thing inconsistent with candour and kind feeling. Already we have said that the authors of the Address are among the most valued friends of the Anti-slavery cause; and we now add, that we give them credit for the full measure of respect and kindness towards the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society which they have expressed. With this declaration of mutual esteem we may be permitted to put personal feelings altogether aside, and to enter without fear of offending on the consideration of the argument.

The false step alleged to have been taken by the Committee—"the head and front of their offending"—is, that, in 1841, they "memorialized the Government against any relaxation of the duties upon slave-grown sugar." To which this aggravation is to be added, that they have "persevered in" this course "with a pertinacity wholly unaccountable."

The charge of pertinacity may be disposed of in a single word. The authors of the Address themselves admit, that the Committee acted "in pursuance of what they deemed their duty to their constituents, and in furtherance of what they judged to be the interests of the great principles they are appointed to defend." Now, in such a course, we think constancy ought not to be called pertinacity, but steadfastness; and we think it strange that men who possess so much of this admirable quality as the authors of the Address should find any difficulty in accounting for its manifestation in others.

To the argument, however. The authors of the Address open it in the following manner:—

"We are anxious to submit to your candid consideration our objections to the course taken by the London Committee.

In the first place, we are conscientiously opposed to the means resorted to for effecting its object, as involving an infringement of the sacred rights of justice, and requiring for its successful accomplishment the use of physical force.

"And, secondly, we are of opinion that the righteous object sought to be obtained by the Committee will not by their plan of operations be achieved, but that to persevere in the use of such means will greatly tend to injure the Anti-slavery cause."

The first objection is twofold. The conduct pursued by the Committee, first, involves an infringement of the sacred rights of



justice; and secondly, it requires for its accomplishment the use of physical force. We do not quite see how it happened that the second part of this objection came to be linked with the first, with which it has clearly no natural connexion. It was, perhaps, an after-thought; or it may have been felt to be capable of bearing so little stress that it was deemed necessary to attach it to a more weighty argument. But let this pass.

1. The opposition of the Committee to the introduction of slave-grown sugar, we are told, "involves an infringement of the sacred rights of justice." It is, then, one of the sacred rights of justice that Englishmen should be allowed to use slave-grown sugar. We confess this does not appear to us in the light of an axiom. That men have an inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness (we believe we use the words of the American Declaration of Independence) we can understand; but we do not see our way clear to put Brazilian sugar in the same category.

But how, let us ask, do the authors of the Address endeavour to make good their assertion? It is by this singular allegation, that slave-grown sugar is kept out of England by the "conscientious scruples" of some of the people. Well; suppose it were so: does this prove it to be "an infringement of the sacred rights of justice?" The *non sequitur* is obvious. But the allegation is untrue. Slave-grown sugar is not kept out of England by the "conscientious scruples" of any body. The conscientious, that is, the sincere opinions of some persons respecting its impropriety induce them to use their efforts for this end, which we suppose is no harm. With such opinions, what else ought they to do? The authors of the Address put it to us whether our conscientious opinions ought to impose sacrifices on our poorer countrymen. We merely ask in reply, whether a regard to the cheapness of sugar ought to induce us to throw overboard the great moral considerations connected with slavery and the slave-trade. As to the notion of permitting importation freely, and employing conscience to pick out from a hundred samples of sugar the produce of free labour, it is so near the ludicrous that we can scarcely keep our gravity. If, however, it should be further insisted on, we must suggest that conscience should be apprenticed for a season to a Colonial broker, to acquire the necessary tact and experience.

The authors of the Address sum up this objection in the following words:—

"To doom millions to involuntary abstinence and suffering, because a few, and an almost imperceptible fraction, of the people have honest objections against the use of slave-grown sugar, appears to us to be the subjecting of one man's clearest natural right to the arbitrary decision of another man's conscience, and wholly indefensible on any ground, social, political, or religious."

This is a mere re-statement of the argument from an alleged natural right to the use of slave-grown sugar, with an endeavour to add to its weight by exhibiting the small number of the objectors to it. Now, if the exclusion of slave-grown sugar be an infringement of natural right at all, it is so independently of all questions as to the few or the many. If that which is done by "an imperceptible fraction of the people" infringes my natural right, the same thing done by an overwhelming majority would infringe it no less. This consideration, therefore, although repeatedly used in aggravation, is altogether irrelevant. If the exclusion of slave-grown sugar be an infringement of natural right, it must be only by virtue of a general proposition—which, however, (we know not why) the authors of the Address have not expressed—that all men have a natural right to the free use of all the productions of the world. We will not now dispute this proposition. It is enough for us to say, that the right in question is clearly among those which must, in any view of the social compact, be held liable to modification by the governing power. Not every infringement of a natural right is a violation of the sacred rights of justice.

2. The authors of the Address now turn to the argument derived from the employment of physical force. The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, they remind us, is pledged to measures exclusively pacific; but "a prohibition against foreign sugar," we are told, will be maintained "by a preventive force of revenue cruisers and armed blockade men." There is nothing peculiar in this respect, we suppose, in the fate of foreign sugar. "Revenue cruisers and armed blockade men" are undoubtedly employed every where to prevent smuggling, which is liable to take place with all highly-taxed articles, although not at all likely to take place with so bulky an article as sugar. If the argument is good for anything, however, it bears equally against all duties, whether of customs or excise, and with no particular force against a duty on sugar. It may be added that it bears against all taxation, all police, and all government; since force, whether indicated by any outward sign or not, and whether military or civil, is the real basis on which all government rests. That the authors of the Address are prepared to recommend the universal abandonment of force cannot for a moment be supposed; yet from the stress laid on this point in the address, one would almost think that, if the scruples of those who obstruct the admission of slave-grown sugar could but be got out of the way, the employment of force would be altogether at an end.

3. We come now to the second—or, as we number them, the third—objection to the course which the Committee have pursued. It will not, it is affirmed, be successful, but will greatly tend to injure the anti-slavery cause.

Before asking for the proofs of this allegation, it is proper to observe that, by the terms in which it is expressed, a change is effected in the subject under consideration. Hitherto we have had to do with the Committee on the mere fact of their endeavouring to keep out

of the British market what is already prevented from coming in; which they have done, because, in their opinion, it would aggravate the condition of slavery, and stimulate the slave-trade. Now it is assumed that they are systematically endeavouring to induce, by fiscal regulations in England, the abandonment of slavery abroad. We are not denying that the fact is so: we only feel it needful to mark this change in the aspect of the discussion. It is in this view that the authors of the address say the Committee will do harm instead of good. We now ask for the proofs.

"Slavery in the Brazils can only be abolished in one of two ways: by social convulsion and violent revolution, or by a change in public opinion on the question itself. \* \* The second mode is the only one to be hoped for, and that can never be brought about by aggravating distinctions in our commercial code.

"English anti-slavery opinion may operate powerfully upon Brazilian slavery opinion. But, to act at all, it must not only exist, it must have a medium through which it can act. The more our intercourse with the Brazils is encouraged, the more powerfully will our opinions act upon their opinions, and the more likely shall we be to urge them to a wiser policy. Offer them advice in a hostile shape, send it to them on the bayonet's point, or in a vexatious and injurious tariff, and it is rejected with feelings of exasperation and contempt; but convey it in kindly terms, through the channel of trade and of mutual dependence, and it will come attended with all the circumstances which can give inducement to its cordial acceptance."

We can have no hesitation in saying that we look to a change of opinion, and not to revolution, for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade. Our difference with the authors of the Address relates to the mode in which a change of opinion may be brought about. Enlarge your intercourse with Brazil, say our friends; open the British market to their produce, and give the amplest facilities to their commerce, for so will "our opinions act upon their opinions." We have no great faith in this assumed action of opinions upon opinions. We suspect that, in the present state of the world, people's opinions are strongly acted upon by their interest: more strongly, indeed, than, interest being adverse, they would be by the opinions of any other people whatever. The maxim, "Take slave produce from the Brazilians, and exhort them to give up slavery," may, we think, be fairly translated into the following—Give them doubloons for holding slaves, and a homily in favour of freedom. We confess we should have little faith in the remedy, if we could even believe in the sincerity of the physician who prescribed it.

The matter, however, is not one of speculation. The experiment has been repeatedly tried, and the result is practically before us. Cast a glance at our own West India colonies. Their commerce was loaded with favours; but West Indian "slavery opinion" was very little wrought upon by the anti-slavery opinion of England. Or look to the great transatlantic republic. The cotton of the southern states has commanded favour by its incalculable importance to ourselves; but the trade in it has made no way for the influence of English opinions on the subject of slavery. The very contrary has been the fact. The time when the southern states approached nearest to the abolition of slavery, was also the time when there was the smallest demand in England for their staple produce. It is the demand for American cotton at Liverpool, and nothing else, that rivets the chain of the slave. To stop it, or to diminish it one half, would do more to effect a change in the "slavery opinion" of Louisiana and the Carolinas, than a hundred years preaching of sermons while they are getting rich by the culture of cotton for the British market. What should inspire hope of a different result in Brazil? All experience shows us the practical wisdom of saying to the Brazilians, We will open our market to your produce *when you have abolished slavery*.

4. Under their second head the authors of the Address introduce "another, and," as they add, "perhaps still more forcible objection to our calling on Government to resort to fiscal restrictions for coercing foreign countries into the suppression of slavery. This policy is maintained by our statesmen," they tell us, "upon the plea that the free-labour sugar of our colonies cannot compete in price with the produce of slaves."

We are here brought to a stand. We do not see what we have to do with the allegations made "by our statesmen." If this argument had been used by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, it would have been our duty to examine it; but all the world knows that they have constantly affirmed, that, other things being equal, the labour of freemen is always cheaper than the labour of slaves. If the authors of the Address mean to maintain more than this, let them make out their case. We are quite willing to adopt their maxim, "Let it be seen whether we cannot destroy slavery by underselling it," provided only that we bring none but the produce of free labour into the competition. As to "the full faith that Divine Providence has ordained that the greatest abundance and cheapness of his bounties shall be the reward of those who 'do unto others as they would that others should do unto them,'"—in which singular faith it is recommended that the slaveholders and slave-traders shall be put into possession of the amplest opportunities we can give them of amassing wealth—we acknowledge that we are somewhat sceptical.

We have now noticed all the arguments contained in the Address; but we must add one or two miscellaneous remarks.

1. Injustice, we think, is done to the Committee by the note which accompanies the Address; inasmuch as they are represented as "opposing the introduction of *foreign sugar*" into this country. The well-known fact is that they are strenuously advocating the introduction of foreign sugar, not being slave-grown.



2. Injustice is done to the anti-slavery body throughout the country, when the Address speaks of "the secession of many Associations" from the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. The whole facts are these:—the Committee at Liverpool passed adverse resolutions, against which several members of it protested; the Committee at Birmingham passed adverse resolutions, and afterwards rescinded them; the Committee at Hitchin passed adverse resolutions, but did not secede; and the Devizes Committee became extinct. How much of the general confidence of the country has been lost or retained, the present discussion will probably ascertain.

Having thus adverted to all the points in the Address which seem to require notice, it might seem that our work was done. If our readers are like ourselves, however, they are sensible of a strange surmise that something has been omitted, or else that something is not there which should have been there. The latter, we beg to explain, is the fact. And it is to us (to use a phrase of their own) "wholly unaccountable" that the authors of the Address should have sent so grave a document into the world, taking absolutely no notice whatever of the two important topics which we will now introduce.

1. They complain of the Committee for availing themselves of fiscal regulations for the discouragement of slavery, but they never notice the fact that the use of such measures is actually prescribed by the constitution of the Society itself. One of the means agreed on with perfect unanimity at the formation of the Society, was "to recommend the use of free-grown produce, as far as practicable, instead of slave-grown, and to promote the adoption of fiscal regulations in favour of free labour." Whether the adoption of such a course was right or wrong is a question on which opinions may differ; but that the Committee can be blameable for pursuing it while it stands as a part of their fundamental law is utterly inconceivable. It is by neglecting it that they would expose themselves to censure.

2. It is well known that the ground on which the Committee have throughout resisted the admission of sugar from Brazil, is that it would aggravate the sufferings of the slaves, and multiply the victims of the slave-trade; yet not a single reference is made in the Address to this topic. For all that appears there, the world might think that the Committee were acting without any solid reason at all, and, for mere sport, and, "with a pertinacity wholly unaccountable," making wanton assaults on "the sacred rights of justice." Certainly it was incumbent on the authors of the Address to show, if they could—and nothing would have served their purpose better—that the admission of Brazilian sugar would neither hurt the slaves, nor increase the slave-trade. "The better part of valour is discretion;" or perhaps an argument with which no man has ever grappled, or ever can grapple, may have been habitually so far out of sight as to have been overlooked unawares. We, however, must not suffer it to be overlooked; and we call the attention of our readers to it distinctly and emphatically.

Look at the condition of the slave. Where the labourer is free, every augmentation in the demand for the produce of his toil increases his comforts; where the labourer is a slave, it diminishes them. During the controversy with our own West India colonies, one cry of the abolitionists was, "To relieve the slave, consume less sugar: the more sugar you eat the harder he works, the sooner he dies." The principle is just as applicable to Brazil. How is it possible to create an increased demand for the sugar of that country without adding to the toils of the slave, and aggravating all the dreadful sufferings of his condition?

Look at the slave-trade. If more sugar is to be made in Brazil, there must be more hands to make it; and these hands must be fetched by the slavers from desolated and bleeding Africa. The gains of the slave-trade being increased with the growing demand for slaves, desperate men will run the most fearful risks for such mines of gold. Can there be a doubt about it? Or about the dreadful cruelties and miseries involved in it? And a reluctance to become a party to such an issue is to be denounced as a "conscientious scruple" of "an imperceptible fraction of the people"! This "scruple" weighs heavier than all the hogsheds of sugar in Brazil; and weighs, too, we are persuaded, with "the millions" of our countrymen.

#### THE FLORIDA FUGITIVES.

FROM the papers laid before Parliament in relation to the seven slaves who escaped to the Bahamas from St. Augustine, we learn that Mr. Browne, United States marshal, arrived at Nassau in the *Nautilus*, United States schooner-of-war, on the 24th of December, 1843. He was received by the Governor, Sir Francis Cockburn, on the following day; and, on the object of his visit being mentioned, he acceded to the suggestion of the Governor that it would be better for all communications to be in writing. The United States marshal opened his commission by the following note:—

U. S. Schooner *Nautilus*, Providence, Nassau,  
25th December, 1843.

SIR,—The undersigned avails himself of the earliest opportunity to announce to his Excellency the Governor of the Bahamas, that he has been directed, by order of his government at Washington, to repair to this port for the purpose of obtaining the persons of seven individuals, who, after the perpetration of a most wanton murder, and the commission of several acts of piracy and robbery, it has been understood were at the island of Nassau, to which they had fled for security. The United States

government, anxious that every provision of the late treaty between her Britannic Majesty and themselves should be fulfilled in the spirit of good faith, have directed the undersigned to make such communication with your Excellency as will at once fulfil these intentions, and enable them to vindicate the supremacy of their own laws by a return of those criminals who have sought the protection of the British flag.

The undersigned simply announcing the object of his visit, and awaiting the earliest leisure of his Excellency, has the honour, &c.,

(Signed) J. B. BROWNE,  
His Excellency Sir Francis Cockburn, United States Marshal.  
&c. &c. &c.

His Excellency having solicited and obtained the names of the alleged criminals, forthwith issued his warrant to Chief Justice Lees, to proceed in the case according to the tenor of the Act of Parliament. Associating with himself his "brother judges," Sandilands and Gahan, he lost no time in attending to the business; and, in a communication dated December 30th, the result is stated as follows:—

Nassau, 30th December, 1843.

SIR,—I had the honour of informing you through the medium of the public secretary, that, immediately on the receipt of your Excellency's warrant delivered to me on the afternoon of the 26th inst., I requested Mr. Justice Sandilands and Mr. Justice Gahan to associate themselves with me for the investigation of the evidence forwarded by the United States government for the purpose of claiming as criminals under the recent treaty certain fugitives from St. Augustine. On the following morning (the 27th) I was waited on by Mr. Wood, the counsel employed by the United States agents, to know when we would be ready to receive the evidence. I replied, immediately; but Mr. Wood appointed the following morning at ten o'clock. At that time we assembled accordingly, and, that no time might be lost, I had the warrant for apprehending the fugitives ready prepared, expecting, as a matter of course, that such evidence would be given to us as we should under the Act be authorized to receive. We were much surprised, therefore, to find that the only evidence offered to us was documentary, and those documents consisting of mere indictments, without any evidence upon which they were framed. Willing, however, to give the subject the most mature consideration, we postponed coming to a decision until the following day (yesterday), when, having satisfied ourselves that it was quite impossible that a warrant could issue on such evidence, we delivered our decision to the United States agents, a copy of which I have herewith the honour to enclose. After this, and the meeting had broken up, I was asked by Mr. Browne, the provost marshal from Key West, whether, if certain circumstances could be deposed to me by one of the party, it would be considered sufficient? I replied, I could hardly answer a question put in so vague a way, but that if he would have the circumstances he alluded to put down on paper, I would consult my brother judges on the subject. I have not since had the honour of receiving any communication from them.

I have, &c.,  
(Signed) J. C. LEES.

His Excellency Sir Francis Cockburn, &c., &c.

The official document containing the formal decision of the judges is in the following terms:—

By the Act for giving effect to a treaty, &c., &c., it is enacted, that, upon warrant given under the hand and seal of the officer administering the government of any colony, &c., it shall be lawful for any justice of the peace, or other person having power to commit for trial persons accused of crimes, &c., &c., to examine upon oath any person or persons touching the truth of the charge made against such offenders, and upon such evidence as, according to the laws of that part of her Majesty's dominions where the supposed offender shall be found, would justify his or her apprehension, &c., if the crime of which he or she shall be so accused had been there committed, it shall be lawful for such justice of the peace, or other person having power to commit as aforesaid, to issue his warrant for the apprehension of such person. Had any such evidence been offered to us, we should of course have considered ourselves bound to receive it, and to issue our warrant for apprehending the offenders. No *vidæ voce* evidence, however, of any kind touching the charge is offered to us, but we are presented with certain indictments, which it is stated have been found by a jury in Florida. Now it is provided by the second clause of the Act, that, in every such case copies of the depositions upon which the original warrant was granted, certified, &c., may be received as evidence; but we are furnished with no such copies of depositions. An indictment *per se* can never be received as evidence; it is not enough for us to know that the American jury thought the parties guilty, we ought to know the grounds upon which they thought them guilty. What may constitute the crime of murder in Florida may be very far from doing so according to the British laws, or even to the laws of the northern states of America; by issuing a warrant, then, to apprehend the parties in virtue of these indictments, we might be doing so on evidence which would not justify their apprehension by the British law, and should thereby be proceeding in direct violation of the Act. We profess and feel the utmost willingness to carry the Act into effect, and to aid and assist, by every means in our power, in the apprehension of offenders under the treaty; but, being furnished with no kind of evidence against the parties except the indictments alluded to, which neither the Act itself nor accordance with our own laws would justify us in receiving, we must consider ourselves as totally without evidence, and, however reluctantly, refuse to issue the warrant.

(Signed) J. C. LEES, Chief Justice.  
ROBERT SANDILANDS, Assistant Justice.  
P. F. GAHAN, Assistant Justice.

In the conduct of his case, Mr. Browne "had the assistance of one of the most talented men of the legal profession," while "the Friendly Society, composed of emancipated negroes, employed a professional man to watch the case on the part of the accused." Mr. Browne certainly seems to have no cause to complain of either



want of courtesy, or want of alacrity, on the part of any functionary at Nassau; and, before quitting that port, he made the following graceful acknowledgment on this head:—

TO HIS EXCELLENCY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR FRANCIS COCKBURN,  
GOVERNOR OF THE BAHAMAS, &c. &c.

United States schooner Nautilus,  
30th December, 1843.

The undersigned, having had the object of his visit brought to a close by the opinions of her Majesty's Judges for the Bahamas, avails himself of this opportunity to tender to your Excellency his warmest thanks for the courtesy and good feeling evinced toward him personally and in his official character, and shall embrace the earliest opportunity, on his return to the United States, to express the same to his own Government. With every wish for the continued happiness of your Excellency,

I have, &c.,

(Signed) J. B. BROWNE,  
United States Marshal.

By an extract in our last number, it would be seen that attention had been called to this subject in the senate of the United States by Mr. Benton, who moved for information. In a late number of the *New York Evangelist* we find the following summary of the information supplied by the President in answer to this request:—

"On the 21st a message was received from the President, communicating some correspondence, &c., on the subject of the tenth article of the late treaty, and the British construction of it. A slave who had killed his master in self-defence, and fled to the Bahama islands, was demanded under that article of the treaty as a fugitive from justice. The case was tried in the Bahama Courts, and the demand was disallowed; and the decision of the Courts was, that the killing of a master in self-defence was no greater crime than killing a man who was not a master, and that therefore the person claimed was not guilty. This decision will have an important bearing, and discloses, more fully than any other decision which has yet occurred, the determination of Great Britain with regard to our fugitive slaves."

It will be seen that this account adds somewhat to the information supplied by the Parliamentary paper. According to it, the indictment seems to have carried on the face of it that the slave had "killed his master in self-defence;" and the Judges to have held that killing in self-defence was not murder.

#### FRENCH VIEWS OF BRITISH EMANCIPATION.

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

Paris, 3mo. 22, 1843.

RESPECTED FRIEND,—Before leaving Paris, where John Scoble and myself have made a longer stay than we originally intended, I proceed to give thee some account of the information we have obtained, and the steps we have taken during the period of our visit. Soon after our arrival we procured some of the principal works relating to the anti-slavery question which have appeared here during the last few years, especially those published by the French government. These contain a very large amount of reading. Among them we have directed our attention to the continuation of a series of publications intended to illustrate the results of emancipation in the British colonies, entitled, *Abolition de l'esclavage dans les colonies Anglaises*; the *Procès Verbaux* of the Commission appointed by the king to examine questions relative to the abolition of slavery, and the constitution of the French colonies; and, finally, the Report of the Royal Commission on the subject of slavery. I cannot but hope that the large amount of information contained in these, and in other works that I have not noticed, will be productive of benefit to the cause which they are intended to illustrate. They must at least serve to awaken attention to the abolition of slavery, and excite reflection upon the duty and importance of this act. It may be interesting to some of the readers of the *Reporter* to know what is the general character of thousands of quarto or octavo pages thus brought under the notice of the statesmen and people of France. I shall therefore observe that the volumes entitled, "*Abolition de l'esclavage dans les colonies Anglaises*," containing an account of the results of emancipation in the British colonies, consist of extracts from the various classes of documents that have reference to this subject printed by the Parliament of England, including parliamentary papers relative to the West Indies, Reports of Commissioners on slavery, on the apprenticeship, on the state of the West Indies, and on immigration from Africa. They include, also, some documents issued by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and notices of important parliamentary debates on subjects connected with the abolition of slavery. There are also various introductory and explanatory remarks contained in these volumes; and, lastly, reports made by Frenchmen who have recently visited the British colonies by direction of their government, or of the colonial authorities. The general tendency of the original remarks and statements introduced by the compiler of the volumes, which are published by the Department of the Marine, favours a very gradual abolition of slavery. The persons on whom was devolved by the French government or authorities the task of investigating the situation of the British colonies under a state of freedom, are Captain Layrle (now Governor of French Guiana); M. Bernard, Procureur-General of the royal court of Guadeloupe; M. Guillet, Commissioner of the Marine in French Guiana; Dejean de la Batie, member of the Colonial Council of the island of Bourbon; Captain Jehenne; and the Vice-Admiral Count de Moges. Among these persons, the visits made by Captain Layrle were extensive, and embraced Jamaica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent,

Grenada, St. Christopher's, Antigua, Trinidad, Barbadoes, and British Guiana. The statements of M. Bernard relate to Antigua only; those of Vidal de Lingendes and of M. Guillet to British Guiana; of Dejean de la Batie to the island of Mauritius; and of Vice-Admiral de Moges to St. Lucia. It will be at once seen how large an amount of the testimony respecting the results of British emancipation, so far as it is found in these original French documents, rests upon the authority of Captain Layrle; and that nearly the whole of the remainder is furnished by persons having an official connexion with the French slave colonies, or being interested in them. The latter class of evidence will scarcely be considered as satisfactory or conclusive by any impartial person; and how large a proportion of individuals holding official situations in slave countries are, by marriage or otherwise, implicated in the system of slavery! On the reports of Captain Layrle I remark, that an evident antipathy to emancipation, and sympathy with the planters, runs through them, notwithstanding some fair professions of impartiality. Thus, in the commencement of his observations on labour in Jamaica, he observes: "We are no longer living at the period when persons could deceive themselves with respect to the results of free labour—the period when the Broughams, the Wilberforces, the O'Connells, the Seafords, the Sligos, and others, predicted in the Parliament of England that the labour of a free negro would be as valuable as that of three slaves. Since then facts have spoken; they have overthrown all the theories of those abolitionists, and destroyed all the arguments in favour of productiveness and riches."—*Abolition de l'esclavage*, 4th publication, p. 71. It is too evident that productiveness and riches for the planter are, in the opinion of Captain Layrle, of far greater importance than the rights and happiness of the negro. The proof of this is continually afforded to those who read his reports with any degree of attention, and will be sufficiently manifest in the dark colours in which he has depicted the results of emancipation in the principal British West India colony, Jamaica. Captain Layrle notices the great diminution which had progressively taken place in the export of sugar from that island, subsequently to the abolition of the slave-trade. The exportation reached its minimum in 1841, when the quantity shipped was 30,560 hhds., besides tierces and barrels; but was estimated by Captain Layrle, writing at the commencement of 1842, at only 20,000 hhds.—*Ibid.*, 4th pub., pp. 69, 70; 5th pub., p. 98. The unfavourable account given by Captain Layrle of free labour has been already noticed. This is frequently repeated in other words in his reports. He is, nevertheless, forced to admit that all the parishes of Jamaica do not present the same unfavourable aspect; that in some the negroes have shown themselves more assiduous in the fields; and that there are still plantations on which a fair amount of sugar is made. These admissions are not destroyed by statements of an opposite character with regard to other labourers or other plantations, or by Captain Layrle's gloomy anticipations, with which they are generally accompanied.—*Ibid.*, 4th pub., pp. 73, 74, 90. The hopes expressed by planters of an increase of production are twice noticed, and twice spoken of as feigned, or as arising from interested motives.—*Ibid.*, 4th pub., p. 89; 5th pub., p. 106. The reasonable expectations entertained by persons resident in the colony, founded on a knowledge of facts, have, however, proved more correct than the prejudiced forebodings—I will not speak of them as feigned—of this censor of emancipation. The exportation of sugar from Jamaica amounted in 1842 to 47,892 hhds., in addition to a considerable number of tierces and barrels, being an increase of more than 50 per cent. on the exports of the two preceding years. In speaking of immigration into Jamaica, which has only taken place to a very limited extent, it is remarked, "The diabolical spirit (!) of the blacks is besides this (other difficulties previously mentioned) an obstacle to the success of immigration."—*Ibid.*, 4th pub., p. 83. The adult portion of the emancipated population is described as not having made any progress in morals and religion; but it is expected that the rising generation will derive some benefit from schools spread over the island by the abundant resources of British philanthropy.—*Ibid.*, 4th pub., p. 78. In another portion of the same report, Captain L. states that "the Baptist missionaries are said to be generally men of low station, and are only remarkable for the political attitude they have assumed, and for the vehemence of their declamations. In the midst of the interest which they affect to feel in the emancipated population, they do not forget their own advantage. They have built with the purse of the negroes handsome churches, handsome schools, and especially handsome houses for their own use; they take advantage of the credulity of their flocks; they have renewed in the present day the sale of indulgences, and there is not a negro who is not eager to bring his shilling in order to obtain the ticket which is to open to him the gates of heaven. Thus the Baptist missionaries are seen surrounded by all that luxury can present that is agreeable: in some localities they have become proprietors. It is by extracting as much as they can from the population of which they call themselves the friends and protectors, that they enrich and raise themselves upon the spoils of expiring Jamaica."—*Ibid.*, 4th pub., pp. 80, 81. Such statements require only to be perused by English readers acquainted with the character of the persons spoken of, and with the facts, to receive their full confutation. Captain Layrle, however, appears to have reversed the statements made by himself respecting the stationary character of the larger part of the enfranchised population of Jamaica, and the conduct of the Baptist missionaries, when, in a later report, under the head "Analogy of situation between Jamaica and the French Antilles," he says, "The English colonies owe the remarkable state of ad-



vancement at which they have arrived in moralization and civilization to the continued efforts of ministers of religion; for the momentary evils that the dissenting sects have occasioned are only an exception which does not destroy the rule."—*Ibid.*, 5th pub., p. 107. The dwellings of the negroes are described as in a more miserable and ruinous state than during the period of slavery, and their interior as wanting that appearance of comfort which Captain Layrle had observed in the other colonies. The dress of the new freemen is said to have undergone no improvement. They are represented as covered only with miserable rags even in the city of Kingston, and at Spanish Town, the seat of government.—*Ibid.*, 5th pub., p. 100. The town of Kingston is acknowledged to present an appearance of great prosperity, and the general trade of the island to have increased; but these circumstances are stated to have arisen from an extension of its foreign commerce. It would have been inconvenient to have ascribed it to its true cause, the increase in imports occasioned by the greatly improved situation of the emancipated population, and the activity imparted to the coasting and internal trade of the island by the same circumstance. I shall copy no more of the incorrect statements of Captain Layrle relative to Jamaica, except the conclusion at which he arrives:—"Doubtless in this colony various circumstances have contributed to complicate a state of things thus prejudicial to production; but these are only accessories, the foundation of the evil remains the same; it is free labour, the result of which is no longer doubtful, that inclines the balance to the ruin of the former slave colonies."—*Ibid.*, 4th pub., p. 92. It is scarcely needful to observe that the statements made by Captain Layrle on several of the subjects above given are wholly at variance with those contained in official documents published by the British government, with communications made by the highest authorities at home and abroad, and with the accounts of travellers of the highest character and the most unquestionable disinterestedness. Such a fact must greatly lessen, if it does not wholly destroy, the value of Captain Layrle's testimony. His prejudice, or unreasonable regard for the planters, seems to have led him not only to see the darkest side of every feature in negro emancipation, but to regard the future with the same gloomy feelings. He does not appear to have reflected that the peculiarity of freedom, as compared with slavery, is, that it has a constant tendency to progress and improvement. If the same amount of sugar is not at once produced by voluntary industry in many of the British colonies that was extorted from men, women, and children, by the whip, there is no longer a stationary or decreasing population; education, morality, and religion are continually spreading their benign influence over the community, and the result of these circumstances cannot be long doubtful to the most perverse understanding, not only as they affect the happiness of the great mass of the population, but as they conduce to the general prosperity of the country in which they exist.

The account given by Captain Layrle of British Guiana, to which colony he appears to have devoted more attention than to Jamaica, contains many important admissions. Respecting free labour it is said, "In Guiana, the former planters are divided into two parties: the one proclaim the impossibility of going on under the existing system; the other, on the contrary, affirm that they never want labourers, that they have only to commend the industry of the negroes, that they produce as much as under the former system, and, finally, that the future gives them no uneasiness. These assertions, altogether different as they are, proceed from men too respectable not to be of some weight: so much for the former planters. Now, consult those who have newly become such; hear those men who only know forced labour by tradition (and there are such in the colony); you will find them unanimous; all will tell you that they are satisfied with the work, that their plantations are doing well, and that they do not fear a diminution of the price of colonial articles."—*Ibid.*, 5th pub., p. 25. Capt. Layrle is, I believe, incorrect in stating that there are now planters in Guiana who only know forced labour by tradition, as it is well known that all the estates which have changed hands subsequent to emancipation have been bought by persons previously resident in the colony. I conclude, therefore, that the remarks attributed to new colonists were made by those who have recently become proprietors. On the subject of the value of property, Captain Layrle observes: "All the investigations that I have made on the state of property in the country have generally resulted in learning that they have not decreased in value since emancipation. I shall not speak of the earliest period of liberty, when the influence of capital thrown into the colony by the indemnity may have led to transactions considered as hazardous, and when there was very little confidence in the continuation of labour. I shall only speak of property purchased after things had subsided to their natural state, and the future had become less gloomy. It results then, from documents the most entitled to confidence, that twenty-two estates have changed hands, and there is scarcely one which has been sold below its (former) value, whilst it is notorious that the price of several of these estates has exceeded that at which it had (formerly) been estimated. These purchases have not been made by strangers, but by men who have long resided in the country, who are still there, and who know the resources of the colonies as well as the unfavourable chances."—*Ibid.*, 5th pub., p. 34. It will be seen that the above quotation confirms the remark I have made respecting the new class of planters in Guiana, and is at variance with Captain Layrle's former statement in reference to this subject. Concerning the value of property in towns, it is remarked: "If the value of plantations appears doubtful to some minds, this is not the case with regard to property in the towns. This, for some

years past, has greatly increased in value; a fact which is universally established, and which is the result of the increase in the population of the towns, and of the luxury and easy circumstance which prevail among all classes in society. At George Town persons often talk of ruin; but it is difficult to believe it in the midst of the luxury which surrounds you, and of the princely state of those to whom the new system, as they say, is so injurious."—*Ibid.*, 5th pub., pp. 34, 35. The state of society and the conduct of the emancipated class in British Guiana is thus noticed:—"If, under the head of production, emancipation has not realized the hopes of the partisans of free labour, it must, however, be acknowledged that, in a moral point of view, it has operated in such a way as to satisfy the minds of those whom it is the most difficult to please. The progress of the emancipated population in civilization is evident. Everything announces that the rising generation will receive a suitable degree of instruction." The negro population of Guiana presents to society, not only the guarantee of order, but Captain Layrle "dares even to add the probability of the labour being afforded which the future welfare of the colony requires." These advantages he attributes "to the continued efforts of the mother country, the local government, the regular clergy, the dissenting sects, and the planters." Schools and churches are said to have been generally erected by the same parties, and "sometimes (it is remarked) the people themselves, in their earnest desire for instruction, participate eagerly in the expense of building schools." Much more than this might have been truly said of the noble and generous contributions made by those who were lately slaves to moral and religious objects. Marriages are acknowledged by Captain Layrle to be numerous; but any credit which might otherwise attach to the negro, from this change from his former demoralized habits, is given principally, if not wholly, to the clergy and the planters. The manner in which the latter are asserted to encourage marriage, by providing the dinner which takes place on the occasion, and making marriage presents, is, as a general statement, ridiculous and untrue. Captain L. proceeds to say: "It is notorious that former habits still prevail, and that there are numerous instances of a want of fidelity in married persons." The exhortations of ministers of religion are nevertheless said to bear their fruits. It is admitted in society that libertinism is blamable; married persons refuse to associate with those who live in an immoral manner; women, especially, will not yield on this point, and affix a profound contempt on those who persist in their former irregularities. From this state of things, it results that family ties are increasingly regarded; infancy is cared for; old age and its infirmities inspire interest. Captain Layrle cites on this subject the intention which the local government had formed, to collect in one place the old and infirm people of the rural districts. A law was passed in consequence; it was established on the same basis as the poor law of England; funds were voted for its execution; but this humane act of the legislature proved useless. The old people and the infirm found among their relations and friends, not only an asylum, but a supply for all their wants.—*Ibid.*, 5th pub., p. 40. I will only notice further in the general account given by Captain Layrle of British Guiana two circumstances in which a happy change has taken place since the abolition of slavery. In the English colonies, a cruel use was formerly made of poison; this is a fact of which Captain Layrle was everywhere assured. Emancipation has put an end to practices which cost the life of entire families; at present these practices are unknown. If a labourer has reason to complain of the colonist that employs him, he does not poison him, he does not ruin him by poisoning his cattle; he leaves him, takes his services elsewhere, and the matter is at an end.—*Ibid.*, 5th pub., p. 51. Again, it is said: "The time no longer exists when the colony demanded from the metropolitan government the withdrawal of the missionaries. Far from that, it would be happy to receive new ones, so sure does it feel of the usefulness of their co-operation."—*Ibid.*, 5th pub., p. 74. I regret that the length of the extracts already made prevents my copying the description given of the dishonest means that have been adopted by some persons in British Guiana to depreciate the value of property there, in order to become purchasers themselves.—*Ibid.*, 5th pub., p. 34. The general conclusions at which Captain Layrle professes to have arrived, that follow the notice of British Guiana, will, after the extracts which have been given, surprise most readers. Some of them are thus stated: "English emancipation, irrespective of its political bearing, was a hasty and unjust measure. It was hasty, because the population was not sufficiently prepared to enjoy the benefits of liberty, and because the transient system of the apprenticeship did not continue as long as was required for the moralization of the rural classes. It was unjust, because it ruined colonial property, which the Government knew to be loaded with debts, which it did not afford time to liquidate. It was unjust, because it sacrificed at once colonial and metropolitan interests: colonial interests, in leaving the planter dispossessed of indemnity in the impossibility of continuing cultivation after liberty was given; and metropolitan interests, in depriving the creditor of the hope of recovering the whole amount of his claim."—*Ibid.*, 5th pub., p. 82. I confess that I am wholly at a loss to reconcile these conclusions with the facts stated by Captain Layrle, and suppose it to be an illustration of the well-known lines,

"A man convinced against his will  
Is of the same opinion still."

I remain, respectfully, thy friend,  
G. W. ALEXANDER.



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London: Thomas Ward and Co., 27, Paternoster-row; and British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad-street.

**AMERICAN SLAVERY.—CASE OF JOHN L. BROWN.**

**THE COUNCIL of the NATIONAL COMPLETE SUFFRAGE UNION** held a Special Meeting at their Offices, 37, Waterloo-street, Birmingham, on Wednesday, April 3, to consider the subject of addressing the friends of Freedom in America, relative to the case of JOHN L. BROWN, sentenced to death for aiding a slave to escape from bondage, and the inconsistency of America claiming to be a democracy and yet legalising slavery.

After some conversation the following address was unanimously agreed to, and Mr. Sturge undertook to forward copies to friends in America, who would see that it should be brought under the notice of the parties to whom it is addressed:—

"The Council of the National Complete Suffrage Union, established to claim for the unrepresented people of Great Britain and Ireland their political rights, to the friends of freedom in the United States of America.

"Ardently attached to the principles of freedom, we seek the political enfranchisement of our fellow countrymen. Oppressed by laws they have had no voice in making, borne down by taxes imposed without their consent, about six millions of male citizens above the age of twenty-one demand admission within the pale of the British constitution. In the name of those men, on behalf of the rights of humanity and the claims of Christian principle, we now address you.

"First—on behalf of our own unenfranchised fellow countrymen.

"America boasts itself to be 'the land of liberty.' Its constitution is based on the principles of democracy, and its citizens profess to be animated by a tone of universal freedom. The right of universal suffrage is nominally conceded; and therefore class legislation ought to be with you a thing unknown. These principles we wish to see restored to the British constitution. Would that America did them justice!—that we might point to her as a living witness of their intrinsic worth, and a positive exemplification of their practical importance. We cannot, we dare not do so, while America tolerates and upholds the inhuman system of slavery, and deprives nearly three millions of her coloured population of their rights and liberties as free-born men. In her Declaration of Independence, she asserts that 'all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights,' that amongst these are 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,' and that to secure these rights 'governments are instituted among men.' Notwithstanding which she tramples on the very first principles of liberty, by sanctioning the monstrous doctrine that man can hold property in man; and in some of her states she has actually enacted laws under which sentence of death has been passed upon an individual for aiding the escape of a female slave from unrighteous bondage! While such crimes are perpetrated in the name of liberty, and by a nation which claims to be morally, commercially, and intellectually, an example to the world, we feel that the cause of freedom, essentially the same in every country and clime, is exposed to contempt and scorn. Most men judge by hasty observation: few discriminate between the practical defects of your political institutions and the principles on which they are based. But such discrimination is indispensable to a correct appreciation of the democracy of America, while that democracy is vitiated by slavery, and thus poisoned at the core.

"We appeal to you on behalf of the rights of our common humanity, and the claims of Christian principle. John L. Brown, in aiding the escape of a runaway slave, has neither done violence to the laws of God, nor the rights and liberties of man. He was actuated, we believe, by the generous promptings of kind and benevolent feeling, and if he fall a victim to the tyranny of a barbarous law, it will entail indelible disgrace on your much privileged but guilty land. Christianity could have no sympathy with such a deed—humanity revolts at the thought of it, and the whole civilised world would execrate the motives and the policy by which that deed was done. We implore you, then, to seek by prompt, united,

and decided action, the deliverance of this innocent man from prison and from death. Though sentence has been passed under the laws of South Carolina alone, we know that she dare not withstand the united influence of the whole American republic; and, if the friends of freedom there do not combine to exert that influence, by whom else can that great act of justice and humanity be done?

"We appeal to your best feelings, at once to uproot a system the bitter fruits of which are thus so shockingly exemplified. We take guilt to our own country for having suffered slavery to remain within our American colonies, before the United States was discovered from the British Crown. Then three hundred thousand of our fellow beings were in bondage within your territory; but now nearly three millions are in chains! Whose is the guilt of this fearful increase? Are you not prepared to wash that guilt away; to wipe from your banner the dark, deep stain of slavery, and let all your growing population stand forth before the world physically, morally, and politically free?

(Signed)

"JOSEPH STURGE, President.

"JAMES H. WILSON, Secretary.

"Birmingham, 4th month 3, 1844."

#### NOTICES.

**THE FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING** of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society will be held at Exeter Hall, London, on Friday, May the 17th, 1844. Further particulars in due course.

The Friends of the Society are respectfully reminded that the accounts will be made up to the 30th instant, and are requested to pay such subscriptions as may be due, and such sums as may be in their hands, before that day.

**THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER** is an Evening Paper, published on alternate Wednesdays, and may be had of all News-venders throughout the country. Price 4d., or 8s. 8d. per annum. A few complete volumes are on hand.

Subscriptions and Donations to the Society should be forwarded to the Treasurer, (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad-street, London.

All Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* must be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

### The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, APRIL 17, 1844.

In our present number we have expressed at considerable length our views of the Address to the Friends of the Negro, which was inserted in our last. In this place we have no need to say more than that a large number of letters in relation to it have been received, affirming the ground which the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have taken, and urging them to maintain it. Some of these letters having been intended for publication, we have given them insertion; and we have lying by us a mass of extracts from others, which may be inserted hereafter should there be occasion for it. Our readers will not need that we should further direct attention to the subject. We shall only in this place present the following Resolutions, which have been adopted by the Anti-Slavery Committee at North Shields:—

At a Meeting of the North Shields Anti-Slavery Committee, held the 12th of 4th month (April), JOSEPH OGILVIE in the chair,—

Resolved—That this Committee, having had the subject of the free introduction of slave-grown sugar into this country brought under consideration, are of opinion that the effects of such a measure would be most injurious to the interests of those employed in its cultivation, and greatly tend to the increase of the horrible traffic in slaves; and that the conduct of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society with respect to this question is founded upon correct principles, and in accordance with the original constitution of the Society.

This meeting would also express its earnest desire that such fiscal regulations may be adopted as will freely admit all free-labour produce, believing that such a measure would tend most powerfully to the abolition of slavery throughout the world.

And that copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Committee of the parent Society, and to Thomas Spencer, of Hinton, near Bath.

By the direction of the Committee,

JOSEPH OGILVIE, Chairman.

It will be gratifying to those friends who thus heartily approve the course which the Committee have taken, to know that their determination to persevere in it has been indicated by another practical step. Petitions to both houses of parliament have been prepared for presentation, fully expressing their sentiments. A circular has also been issued to their friends, recommending an extended imitation of their example. For more general information, we insert both the circular and the petition below.

#### CIRCULAR.

27, New Broad-street, London,  
April 12th, 1844.

DEAR SIR,—The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have deemed it their duty to present a Petition to both Houses of Parliament, for the admission of produce of all kinds raised by free-labour in foreign countries into the British market, on the same terms as the produce of British possessions, and against the adoption of any fiscal regulation by which facilities would be granted to the introduction of any articles produced by the labour of slaves.

The pending treaty between this country and the empire of Brazil, the late discussion in the House of Commons, and the probability



that the policy of the Government may speedily undergo some modification, combine to impress the Committee with a deep sense of the importance and urgency of the step which they have taken; and to make them desirous that their example should be followed by the friends of the anti-slavery cause throughout the country. I have, therefore, to request in their name, that you will lay this communication before such friends of the cause as may be in your neighbourhood, and consult with them on the subject. It is much to be desired, that the advocates of the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade should exert an efficient influence in support of the great principle which is thus submitted to the legislature; and, in order to this, it is necessary that they should make their voice heard in it, in as large numbers as may be found readily practicable. A copy of the petition adopted by the Committee is added below, and, to such extent as may be acceptable, it may serve as a general guide. It will be further useful, if, in addition to petitions to the legislature, individual members of Parliament be respectfully memorialised to support them.

I am, yours respectfully,

JOHN SCOBLE, Sec.

\* \* Petitions should be presented not later, if possible, than the 22nd of April.

#### PETITION.

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The humble Petition of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society sheweth,

That the African slave-trade is an evil of incalculable magnitude, to the extinction of which the strenuous endeavours of the British nation and Government have been for many years directed.

That your Petitioners have reason to believe, that, notwithstanding the costly efforts made by the Government and people of Great Britain for the extinction of this nefarious and cruel traffic, it continues to exist to an undiminished extent, and with aggravated sufferings.

That, in the judgment of your Petitioners, it would be practicable for Great Britain, by fiscal regulations, to annex such advantages to the use of free labour, as to create a very powerful inducement to substitute it for the labour of slaves, and to secure, within a short period the voluntary extinction of the state of slavery, and the consequent abandonment of the slave-trade, even by the nations who now most tenaciously uphold them.

Your Petitioners therefore pray your Honourable House to adopt fiscal regulations in favour of the produce of free labour; and more especially to pass a law which shall admit the produce of free labour of all kinds in foreign countries into the British market on the same terms as the produce of British possessions and plantations.

Your Petitioners also pray that your Honourable House will not adopt any fiscal regulations affording facilities for introducing into the British market the produce of slave-labour; inasmuch as such a course would incalculably aggravate the miseries of the slaves, and supply a fearful stimulus to the slave-trade.

And your Petitioners, &c.

(Signed on behalf and by order of the Committee,)

THOMAS CLARKSON.

We stated some time ago, that a petition for the total and immediate abolition of slavery in the French colonies was in course of signature by the operatives of Paris. The *Times* of Monday last, contains the following notice of its presentation:—

"A petition, divided into three parts, signed by a number of male and female operatives of Paris, and demanding the immediate abolition of slavery in the French colonies, was presented to the Chamber of Deputies on Wednesday, by Messrs. Isambert, Lamartine, and Gasparin."

We are particularly gratified to observe the names of the Deputies by whom this interesting and important petition was presented; not only because they are of the first distinction, but more particularly because they are representatives of different political parties, and because their union on this occasion denotes the union of all parties in the Chamber on the question of abolition. We hail this omen with much satisfaction.

From another of the daily papers (the *Morning Herald*) we take the following intimation that something relating to abolition is on the tapis in the French cabinet.

"The French Government, it is said, has determined on abolishing slavery in its colonies. A sum of two millions sterling is to be appropriated, in imitation of the English plan, in purchasing from the masters the liberty of their slaves. The plan is not yet matured, but we may expect to hear something decided on the subject before the close of the session."

In the number of the *Revue Coloniale* (which is understood to be published by the French Government) for February, the *Anti-slavery Reporter* is noticed in a manner which requires some correction. It is necessary to quote the following passage:—

"It is remarkable that the advocates of contrary views, the *Anti-slavery Reporter* and the *Colonial Gazette*, agree in coming to the same conclusion, namely, that the actual system of repression (of the slave-trade) is ineffectual. . . . We shall leave to the former of these journals the responsibility of the contradiction which is to be remarked between this opinion and the hope, which it elsewhere expresses, of seeing the system of cruisers and blockades at last clear the coast of Africa from the presence of the slave-traders," p. 220.

We have marked in italics the words which we deem it needful to correct. We have not, we believe, on any occasion, expressed a

hope—which certainly we have never entertained—from the armed suppression of the slave-trade. Our contemporary, perhaps, conceives that our approbation is implied in the insertion of an article; but we must beg him to rectify this error, and to understand that we insert as news many matters of fact of which we could express no approbation. All items respecting the capture of slavers are of this class. Our general sentiments being known, it is as needless as it would be troublesome to renew on every occasion the expression of our dissent.

We have given extracts as usual from the papers which have arrived since our last. The affairs of Texas seem to be approaching a crisis; but the most important intelligence to the anti-slavery cause is from the island of Cuba. We particularly call the attention of our readers to it.

#### LETTERS ON THE SUGAR QUESTION.

Paris, 6th April, 1844.

DEAR MR. SCOBLE,—I am much obliged to you for having sent me the letter of Messrs. Spencer, Blair, and Anstie, together with the answer of my worthy friend, Joseph Sturge.

My opinion upon this important subject, which you think it desirable that I should state, has been more than once given by me from my place in Parliament. I believe no one ever was adventurous enough, in the House of Lords, to undertake the defence of the Brazil or Cuba slave-trade, or, which is the same thing, the plan of 1840 for admitting Brazil and Cuba sugars, after the plain facts had been brought before that House. The argument lies in a small compass. Had the question been of increasing the export from Cuba and Brazil of any produce which could only be increased in amount by natural and innocent means, as the growth of Baltic wheat is increased by our increased demand for it, no one could for a moment have doubted that the people had a right to benefit by this free importation. But it is a matter of absolute certainty that no additional hundred hogsheads of sugar can be obtained from Cuba or Brazil, without an additional hundred negroes being brought over from Africa. Consequently, every hogshead imported by us from thence into the United Kingdom means an addition to the African slave-trade; and consequently the plan of 1840 was neither more nor less than a project for increasing the slave-trade, as certainly, and almost as directly, as if we had given a premium for every negro kidnapped or forced on board the slavers, and carried from Africa, through the unutterable horrors of the middle passage, to American bondage. How could any one ever dream of support from us to such a horrid scheme—us, who for half a century had been labouring to extinguish that execrable traffic? Above all, how could any one expect that I, whose good fortune it had been to pass for the first time an act making slave-trading a felony, should join in encouraging the Spaniards and Portuguese to commit the acts proclaimed by my bill of 1811 a crime, and in encouraging our countrymen to be accessories after the fact to the same heavy offence? No one ever attempted any answer to this. It is in truth unanswerable. It is and was said, indeed, in these debates, that we took slave-grown cotton from America without scruple. Is there the least resemblance between the two cases? None whatever. But I will suppose a case in which the cotton-trade might resemble the sugar-trade, and then I will admit my principles to govern that case. If we all of a sudden were called upon to increase by a large amount our importation of cotton, so that our demand could only be met and supplied by an increased importation of negroes from Africa, then I grant that my principles would forbid that increased demand. In the existing state of the cotton-trade, any increased demand is gradual, and never can cause one slave more to be imported from Africa. Besides, we have long been dependent on foreign countries for cotton, and we have no means of stopping the trade, even if its increase should afford some little stimulus to the slave traffic. The sugar question stands on wholly different grounds. We never have as yet had any sugar-trade with foreign slave settlements.

I confess that I have read the letter in favour of this hateful project with astonishment. There are things in it which nothing but the evidence of my own senses could have made me believe that any men of ordinary reflection could have set their names to. What shall we say of the practical wisdom of men who have actually penned and signed the following strange proposal? "*Permit importation freely, and then, where conscience forbids the use of slave produce, indulge only in the consumption of that which is grown by free labour!*"

That some one individual should write this astounding sentence is barely conceivable; but that three men should have met, and discussed, and penned, and adopted, and written, and copied, and signed, and printed such a thing, is truly the most marvellous instance of haste and thoughtlessness which I ever have had occasion to witness. Will any one of them be pleased to point out by what test the conscientious purchaser is to discover slave-grown sugar in the market; or by what means the seller is to satisfy his customer respecting the origin of his wares; or in what mode he is to be prevented, even if he knew it, from telling the purchaser that his sugar is free grown, when his confessing it to be slave grown would put a stop to the bargain?

There is, however, nothing in this letter more singular than the constant assumption, that the only objection to the Brazil and Cuba sugars is the "conscientious scruples entertained by a few persons, who are as nothing compared to twenty-seven millions," against using slave-grown sugar. There were some few persons who, before emancipation, would never consume sugar; but the great bulk of the abolitionists and the anti-slavery party were sound in this view of the matter. It is utterly untrue that the present objection to the slave-trading scheme of 1840 rests on such scruples. Nothing of the kind. These objections rest on the very different and only practical ground, that, by admitting the Brazil and Cuba sugars into our markets, we certainly, immediately, directly, commission some scores of slave-trading vessels to assail and to haunt the African coast, and that an act of Parliament passed for this purpose is as inevitably an act for the more effectual encouragement of the African slave-trade as if it honestly and shamelessly bore that name. Another



extraordinary assumption runs through this letter: There is mention always made of free and slave grown sugar; as if any foreign sugar were free grown! save, perhaps, the produce in Java and Manilla. Assuredly in America there is not raised, out of our own colonies, one hoghead but slave grown.

As to any commercial policy which this country may adopt, exerting much influence upon the legislatures of the slave settlements, or their planters, my hopes are, I confess, not sanguine; because I well know the spirit of gambling speculation which pervades those nations, always agitating the mass, and mixing itself with the great body of the people. But, if any course of conduct can have any such an influence, it is assuredly that which all reflecting abolitionists recommend—the shutting our markets against slave-grown sugar, and opening them to the produce of free labour. The plan of the extraordinary, though perfectly well-meant letter, of which you have sent me a copy, is one from which surely no reflecting person ever can hope for the smallest practical effect, namely, the “powerful operation of English anti-slavery opinion upon Brazilian slavery opinion.” The proposition is to offer them gold to continue the slave-trade, and preach them a sermon to give it up. One can hardly doubt which of these exhortations will prove the most efficacious. Even the “benevolent exertions of individuals or of Anti-slavery Societies,” to which the writers of the letter would confine all our efforts with foreign states, seem to offer a most remote and doubtful prospect of any real good. When coupled with the grand remedy for slavery and the slave-trade, of admitting all at once into our markets as much sugar as negro slave labour can yield to the lash, such a resource can hardly be seriously relied on by any rational person.

I hope and trust that the warmth with which I have expressed myself on this important subject, may not expose me to any suspicion of having been wanting in due respect to three estimable persons of whose pernicious opinions I have spoken. At this moment their support of a party measure so fraught with mischief to a cause for which I have laboured for nearly half a century, seem to me most dangerous to that cause. It may revive attempts of mere party men, which had appeared to expire under the almost universal scorn of abolitionists—attempts under the plausible name of free trade and cheap sugar, not merely to perpetuate negro slavery, which would have been bad enough, but to revive the detestable slave-trade, and extend its ravages over new regions. Assuredly there are no peaceable measures which I would not cheerfully support, to prevent so grievous a crime from falling upon our times as the voluntary encouragement of the slave-trade, and the voluntary extension of slavery by the apostles of freedom.

Believe me truly yours,

(Signed)

BROUGHAM.

J. Scoble, Esq.

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

Bath, April 13, 1844.

SIR,—In your 113th number, of April 3rd, I find an article headed “Sugar Question,” and under that article a long letter, signed “Thomas Spencer, W. T. Blair, and G. W. Anstie.” The following sentiments on this subject burn in my heart, and I should not feel at rest without offering them for publication.

The devotion of two of these gentlemen, Blair and Anstie, to the anti-slavery cause, according to their best views of duty, generously and laboriously, I have long known, and do earnestly testify; and could personal affection, or human influence, move me from the independent convictions, under God, of my own conscience, I know few who could more powerfully affect me. But the duty of the soul to the God who made it and who died for it, and to everlasting truth and love, forbid such influences: and, in my mind, when I find my friends and companions wrong, as I thoroughly believe it, in the sight of God, then does wrong become doubly detestable to me, and all the powers of my soul are emphatically awakened to resist it.

What is the question? Simply this: Ought we to urge our Government to give the same countenance to slavery as to freedom? For slave sugar is the bank and mint, and nerve and heart, of slavery, in the case in question. Without it slavery would wither, as the upas withers when its congenial nourishment is withdrawn. And what is slavery in this case? It is the most atrocious system of legalized and complicated villany which deforms and outrages the human family; and we are called upon to urge our Government to give the same countenance to this most atrocious outrage upon God and man, as to the honest efforts of virtuous and lawful industry!

Or the question may be stated in another form: Ought we to prefer the convenience, taste, and appetite of the freeman, to the liberties and rights, natural and fundamental, of the slave? Or, in order to supply the freeman somewhat more abundantly with sugar, ought we to hire the slave-holder to drive his slave to death? Or, ought we to provide a somewhat more profitable employment for the freeman, who is too ignorant or too corrupt to care for the Divine precept, to remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them, at the expense of the blood and ruin of the guiltless slave?

I know, indeed, mournfully know, that these statements of the question are denied—denied, for instance, by the gentlemen whose long letter, as published by you, impels these lines. I was at the Convention in 1843, when this question was introduced, and for a day earnestly discussed; and I gave all the attention, with all the energy and kindness of which my soul is capable, to that discussion. I have since conversed upon it freely with those gentlemen. Yesterday it was a subject of fervent discussion here; and I am more and more perfectly convinced, that any other way of putting the question than such as the above, is merely a blind—certainly not always meant, but as certainly always real—a blind, a mere blind to the truth. It is like entangling yourself with all the difficulties which talent or zeal can supply, in order to arrive at the solution of whether one and one make two.

My heart sinks within me when I find such views can be urged by such minds; and, had I not God's bible, with free access to it, for my own solemn and prayerful judgment of what God's own truth is, I should be maddened into the conclusion that no such thing as truth or falsehood, as right or wrong, as benevolence or malignity, exist; but that all these things, yea, that all things are mere matters of opinion; so that whatever

a man takes into his head to be right, is right for him; and the support of slavery, which always and fundamentally involves the support of fraud, felony, and murder, in such cases becomes as virtuous and as praiseworthy as the advocacy of holy law and liberty. But I have my bible, and free access to it, through Him who loved this world in its sins, and who gave himself to the cross in order to win it from all its abominations; and my soul's prayer is, that no influence, under whatever pretence, or however urged or supported, may ever induce either our Government, or the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, to make itself, not only a partner, but a hirer, in the unspeakable sin and shame of slavery, as I affirm either would do, could it so utterly degrade itself as to put upon the same footing, by any means in its power, the products of slavery and freedom.

C. STUART.

Carlisle, April 13th, 1844.

DEAR SIR,—Indisposition has prevented me from giving so early an attention to your able circular as I could have wished. I not only quite agree with you in opinion, but I may say that it has given great relief to my mind to find that the sentiments with which I have been anxiously impressed have been so ably vindicated in your letter, as well as in that of O'Connell and others.

The firm and consistent part which the London committee have taken under trying and discouraging circumstances, has raised them higher than ever in my estimation. Had they adopted any different course with regard to the sugar-question, they would clearly have contravened the fundamental principles on which the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was instituted. Those who censure the committee are, by endeavouring to obstruct the practical application of those principles, the really inconsistent party. If they were not prepared to carry out fully the fundamental principles of the society, they ought never to have joined it. The opponents of the London committee are not warranted in their statement, that “the men who object to our receiving slave-grown sugar are a very small minority of the more comfortable or richer classes.” In the absence of any proof whatever, we cannot but treat this as a gratuitous assumption. Were I to give an opinion, I should say it was the reverse. But admitting, for argument sake, that their views have a numerical superiority in the country at large, I would ask, Is the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society—an institution which has for one of its chief objects the enlightening, influencing, and directing the public mind, and whose affairs are chiefly conducted by men who devote a great part of their time, and who have given their most earnest attention to the subject—now to take its cue from the public voice, and follow where it ought to lead? But still less are they warranted in imputing to those who differ from them in opinion a want of regard for the comforts of the poor, which charge is certainly indirectly conveyed in their statement. Here I may say, that I appreciate as much as they can do the advantages of cheap sugar to the working-classes, and am as anxious as they are that they should have it; but I am not willing to buy these advantages at too dear a price—and it is at too dear a price when purchased at the expense of misery, torture, and death, to thousands of our fellow-men in other parts of the world.

In the circular to which I allude, the writers consider that it would be “more just” in those who differ from them to confine their opposition to merely refraining from the use of slave produce; but, if their consciences tell them clearly that it is sinful, by any fiscal enactment, to encourage slavery and the slave-trade, can they, or ought they to content themselves with merely discontinuing the use of slave produce, and stopping there? As well might a person who was solicited to join in a robbery think he was sufficiently doing his duty in merely declining a participation in the proceeds, without taking any steps to prevent the perpetration of the crime. No. On the contrary, are they not bound by their duty to their country and their God, to make use of all lawful means to prevent their country from committing what they believe to be a grievous wrong? And for the neglect of the use of such means as God has given them will he not one day call upon them to give an account?

I now advert to an argument of a rather startling description. We are recommended, as a mode of abolishing slavery in the Brazils, to encourage a connexion with them by taking their slave produce to as great an extent as possible, in order, “through the channel of trade and mutual dependence,” to produce kindly feelings, and thus gain an influence over them that might end in inducing them to adopt a wiser policy.

Now, in order to show more clearly the absurdity of this argument, let us take a parallel upon a smaller scale. Would any one think of putting down a system of robbery and plunder by continuing to act as the receiver of the stolen property, in order, by thus conciliating the thief, to have an opportunity of inculcating honest principles with greater effect? Would his words have much influence upon the thief, when his actions were so much at variance with them? In the same way, could we expect the Brazilians to believe our advice and remonstrance anything but hypocrisy, so long as our profession and practice contradicted each other? And what an example of inconsistency should we set to surrounding nations! On the one hand, by armed cruisers, by treaties and negotiations endeavouring at an immense expense to prevent the traffic in human beings; and, on the other, by opening a more extensive field for the produce of slave labour, increasing the demand for slaves, and consequently extending the slave-trade in a fearful degree. Some nations already seem inclined to suspect the sincerity of our motives, as regards the part we have taken on the slave-trade question; and, if we thus afford them a just ground for such suspicions, should we not thereby altogether destroy the effect of the noble example we have afforded them on that great question, and throw away all the advantages we have already by great sacrifices obtained for the cause of humanity?

The last topic I shall allude to is, the recommendation to “destroy slavery by underselling it.” There can be no doubt that, other circumstances being equal or nearly so, slave labour cannot compete with free labour: the former will eventually be destroyed by the latter in a fair competition. The time that will elapse before it can be thus destroyed must be very uncertain; *this*, however, cannot be uncertain, that the more slave labour is pressed upon by free labour the more terrible will be the contest, the more dreadful the sufferings of the slave, and the more awfully increased will be the destruction of human life. Such direful



results, even for the shortest period that the struggle between the two systems may last, are too distressing for the mind to contemplate. And surely, if, as they state, free labour sugar can be produced so much cheaper than slave sugar as to destroy slavery by underselling it, the supply of free sugar from the half-dozen countries enumerated, in addition to the supply from India and our other colonies, would, by the competition of one with another, give us the benefit of cheap sugar without the attendant evil of encouraging slavery.

In conclusion, let us have free trade with all the world in everything but the produce of slave labour; but let us not exalt the principle of free trade above the holier principles of justice and humanity, but rather let us make it subordinate to them, for, if kept each in its proper place, they may be made, instead of opponents, most powerful auxiliaries to each other.

Several other points in their circular might have been adverted to, but I have already made this letter too long.

Believe me, my dear Sir, yours very truly,  
Joseph Sturge, Esq. JOSEPH FERGUSON.

#### THE CASE OF JOHN L. BROWN.

A SPECIAL meeting of the Birmingham Anti-Slavery Committee was held on the 3rd instant, at the Public Office, to consider the case of John L. Brown, now lying under sentence of death in South Carolina, for aiding a slave to escape. Several resolutions were adopted, and among them a vote of thanks to Lord Denman, and also to Lord Brougham, for the part they have taken in holding up to the abhorrence of the world the enormity of condemning a man to die for doing his duty. One of the resolutions adverted to the fact that this deed occurs under a Republican government, and truly says that it has tended to render the boasted American institutions odious in the eyes of the civilized world.

The following address was also adopted, and directed to be forwarded to the United States for publication:—

"American citizens!—We offer no apology for addressing you on this occasion. We have heard with feelings of the deepest sorrow that an individual now lies under sentence of death in your country for aiding a slave in making her escape from bondage. The constitution of your Union is based upon the principle of universal freedom, and it is astonishing to find that, under this constitution, slavery is not only tolerated, but upheld. This is as inconsistent as it is unchristian. The laws of nature are hostile to man holding property in man, and the word of God declares that he 'hath made of one blood all nations of the earth.'

"How great, then, must be the guilt of that nation by whom these laws are violated, and who, while professing liberty, hold man in bondage!

"Are not you thus guilty? Does not the condemnation to death of John L. Brown display before the whole world deep turpitude, in treating as a crime a deed which, wherever true liberty exists, ought by all Christians to be considered an act of imperative duty?

"We implore you to raise your voice against this legal murder in South Carolina. Should J. L. Brown perish, how will you wipe out the indelible stain which must attach to every one who refuses to protest against this terrible deed? We cannot doubt that an energetic remonstrance on your part against the law of South Carolina by which this man is condemned would accomplish its destruction.

"Citizens of America!—You live under a government which professes to be democratic, and you tell us truly that liberty is the birthright of all men. Do justice to your principles. Give to every man his freedom, and then, and not till then, will the moral influence of America promote the cause of freedom in every part of the world.

"Signed in the name and by order of the Committee of the Birmingham British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, this 3rd day of April, 1844.

"SAMUEL LLOYD, Chairman.  
"WILLIAM MORGAN, Secretary."

The following letter has since been received from Lord Denman:—

"London, April 6, 1844.

"Sir,—I beg leave to thank you for the obliging letter which accompanies the resolutions of the Birmingham Anti-Slavery Committee on the subject of the late conviction in America. I am not entirely without hope that the appeals which have been made to the ruling authorities may secure our fellow-creature from the doom that appears to await him. That he is very probably a fellow subject also, your distinguished townsman, Mr. Joseph Sturge, apprized me; and with the utmost satisfaction I found Lord Aberdeen eager to interfere in his behalf.

"The hope of saving this poor man's life has compelled the use of language very distasteful to those who [do not] regard slavery in its true light. Whether we succeed or fail in that immediate object, I trust the event will lead to the adoption of more just and generous sentiments than unfortunately now prevail in the public mind.

"I have the honour to be, Sir, yours faithfully,

"DENMAN.

"Mr. William Morgan, Waterloo-street, Birmingham."

#### SAFETY OF JOHN L. BROWN.

By the *Emancipator and Weekly Chronicle* of the 23rd of March, we are assured of the fact that John L. Brown "will not be hanged." It seems that a public meeting was held on his case at Pittsburgh, the resolutions of which were forwarded to Judge O'Neill, a deputation also being intended. Stung by the severity of the remarks made, the Judge sent for publication a letter, of which the following is the principal portion:—

"John L. Brown is a native of Fairfield district; he was tried and convicted on very clear proof of aiding a negro woman to run away and depart from her employer's service. The proof created a strong belief that the woman had been his kept mistress for some time. The act under which he was convicted was passed 11th May, 1754, and is as follows: 'Whereas, by the laws of this province, negroes and other slaves are deemed to be chattels personal, and are, in every respect, as much the

property of their owner as any other goods and chattels are. And whereas no punishment can be inflicted by the laws now in force upon persons inveigling, stealing, or carrying away any such slaves from their lawful owners or employers, that is adequate to so great and growing an evil. And whereas the inhabitants of this province are liable to and receive great prejudice and damage by such unwarrantable and pernicious practices and wicked proceedings, therefore to prevent and punish as much as may be such evil, Be it enacted, that from and immediately after the 24th day of June next, all and every person and persons who shall inveigle, steal, or carry away any negroes, or other slave or slaves; or shall hide, aid or counsel any person or persons to inveigle, steal, or carry away as aforesaid any such slave, so as the owner or employer of such slave or slaves shall be deprived of the use and benefit of such slave or slaves; or that shall aid any such slave in running away or departing from his master's or employer's service, shall be, and he and they is and are hereby declared to be guilty of felony, and being thereof convicted or attainted by verdict or confession, or being indicted thereof shall stand mute, or will not directly answer to the indictment; or will peremptorily challenge above the number twenty of the jury, shall suffer death as felons, and be excluded and debarred of the benefit of clergy.' This act, it will be seen, is nearly one hundred years old, and could therefore have had no direction against the abolition folly of the present day; although I have no doubt it may check such philanthropy as that of the editor of the enclosed, if he should ever venture to try his hand in stealing a negro or aiding one to run away. How a judge can be justly styled a murderer for enforcing the law of the state whose officer he may be, is rather strange: perhaps the editor can find something in the new code of morals, of which he seems to be an exponent which may justify it. Our revolutionary sires thought precious little of the rascals who stole or aided negroes in running away; little of their blood would have been poured out to keep such from the gallows; they would sooner, much sooner, have tied the noose, than cut it with their swords.

"Say to the worthy editor of the enclosed that John L. Brown will not be hanged. By the recommendation of myself and my brethren of the Court of Appeal he was pardoned by the governor, on the condition of receiving, on Friday, the 26th of April next, at Winstonsborough, thirty-nine lashes on his bare back. If the editor will then and there attend, I have no doubt John L. Brown will gladly accompany him to the West, where he can soothe and cherish him as one of 'the young and ardent men' who loved negro women, and advised them to escape from slavery.

"JOHN BOLTON O'NEALL."

#### Correspondence.

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

Brussels, 4th mo. 6, 1844.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I arrived from Paris in this city on the 3rd inst., where I found my friend B. Wiffen, who had arrived direct from London. In coming to this place, it appeared to me that Belgium, having no direct interest in the support of slavery, our attention would probably be principally directed to two points having some relation to the subject; namely, the extent and prospects of beet-root sugar manufactured and the probable results, as far as they affect the anti-slavery cause, of the colonisation which has recently been commenced by Belgians in South America. We have had access to several influential persons, who appeared both able and willing to aid our inquiries. Of this number is the Count Arrivabene, well known in England for his enlarged and philanthropic views, and some directors of the two colonisation companies, one of which is intended to establish settlers in Guatemala, and the other in Brazil. We have also to acknowledge the kindness of — Davis, agent of the Evangelical Society; of Edward Panchard, a Protestant pastor; and W. P. Tiddy, the agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

With regard to beet-root sugar, our statistical information does not reach farther than the close of 1842. At that period nearly six millions, out of twelve millions of kilogrammes of sugar consumed in Belgium, were produced in the country from the beet-root. This article of native industry had been, up to the year 1836, favoured by being subjected to no duty, whilst a duty was imposed on foreign sugar. In that year a duty was imposed on indigenous sugar of twenty francs per hundred kilogrammes, while the impost upon the foreign sugar was fixed at forty-five francs per hundred kilogrammes. The duty thus laid upon beet-root sugar, and the late low prices of slave-grown sugar, have had the effect of lessening the home growth. We have not at present the returns for the past year, but the best-informed persons agree that the beet-root sugar manufactures are in a state of much depression, and some establishments in which the article was produced have recently been given up. Of the slave-grown sugar used in Belgium, a large portion is imported from Cuba, and the remainder appears to be principally furnished from Brazil. We expect to obtain full particulars of the amount of beet-root and foreign sugar consumed in Belgium during the past year, and the countries from which the foreign sugar was imported.

Of the two companies that have been formed here for colonisation, one is directed, as we have before remarked, to Guatemala, and the other to Brazil. On that to the former country, in which slavery does not exist, we have no remark to make. In reference to that to Brazil, entitled *La Compagnie Belge-Brésilienne de Colonisation*, which proposes to settle the province of Saint Catharine, in Brazil, it is scarcely needful to observe, that the sphere of its intended operation is in one of the largest slave-holding countries in the world. It is acknowledged that there are in the province of Saint Catharine, in which the new settlers are to be placed, already ten thousand slaves and fifty thousand free persons. The company binds itself and its colonists by its own laws to employ free-labour only; but there are articles in the charter granted to it by the Brazilian government, which compel the surrender of fugitive slaves who may resort to its territories, unless their master be willing to sell them to the company, besides imposing a heavy fine, under specified circumstances, for having or harbouring such slaves. The tendency of articles of this nature is evidently to support the existing system of slavery in Brazil, besides the disadvantages inseparable from emigration to a slave-country from the contempt in which labourers are held, and the injury to which they are



exposed by the prevalent demoralisation. We have had a meeting with nearly thirty persons at our hotel, amongst whom were three of the directors of the colonisation companies, to whom the character of slavery was exhibited, and the evils inseparable from colonisation in lands in which this iniquitous and impolitic system is maintained. We also pointed out some of the objectionable articles in the constitution of the Belgian-Brazilian Colonisation Company. We have subsequently drawn up some remarks upon slavery and colonisation, which will, we expect, appear in the Brussels newspaper, entitled *L'Emancipation*, as well as in a separate form, and be circulated amongst the members of both chambers of the legislature, the directors of the colonisation companies, and some other classes of persons. Copies will likewise be sent to Germany, where a disposition has been manifested to promote emigration to tropical regions.

I shall probably send a copy of that part of the address, referred to in this letter, which treats of the question of beet-root sugar and colonisation.

I remain respectfully, thy friend,

G. W. ALEXANDER.

### Literary Notice.

*The Effect of an Alteration in the Sugar Duties on the Condition of the People of England and the Negro Race, considered.*  
By MACGREGOR LAIRD, Esq. London: 1844.

THE discussion on the sugar duties has again brought forth this prompt and indefatigable advocate—not of things as they are, certainly—but as he thinks they ought to be. The plan he now recommends is altogether one of his own. He would have all sugar produced in British territories admitted for consumption at one shilling per cwt., and all sugar of foreign growth at twenty shillings per cwt. No such scheme as this being likely to be brought forward, it can be scarcely worth while to make any observation upon it. We hardly see to what party it can be acceptable. Certainly not to the free trader, who will see foreign sugar proscribed by a discriminating duty of twenty to one; a larger proportionate difference, we believe, than has ever before been proposed or conceived. Not, we should think to the general consumer, when he understands that the anticipated deficiency in the revenue which is to result from it is to be made up by adding a million and a half annually to the income tax. Not to the anti-slavery party, whether professional or unprofessional (to use a pet term of Mr. Laird's), since it is avowedly a scheme for introducing slave-grown sugar in enormous quantities. There remain, however, the West Indian and other British sugar growers, to whom this scheme would open a mine of gold, and for whose especial benefit it might seem to have been designed. The differential duty of nineteen shillings per cwt. in its favour, would create a higher monopoly price for all sugar of British growth than that which now exists. Now the difference is only as two to one; then it would be as twenty to one. Whatever price might be fetched by foreign sugar, the same must, of course, be paid for British; and in this way an enormous sum of money would be taken out of the pockets of the community, and handed over to the cultivators of sugar in the British East and West Indies! The palmiest days of West Indian monopoly and money-making were nothing to this.

### Home Intelligence.

**THE FREE CHURCH, SCOTLAND.**—The Glasgow Emancipation Society, at its late meeting, passed the following resolutions respecting the Free Church receiving contributions from slaveholders:—

"That whereas ministers and other office-bearers, as well as Church members, in the Southern States of America, are well known to be slaveholders; and whereas the American churches have been denominated 'The Bulwarks of American Slavery,' this meeting cannot but express their deep regret that the Free Church of Scotland, or any other Evangelical Church, should accept of pecuniary contributions from such a quarter; and their decided conviction that, until the American churches have put away from them the sin of slaveholding, they are deserving the admonition and censure, and not the countenance, of Christian men.

"That this meeting, therefore, affectionately and earnestly call on the office-bearers and members of the Free Church of Scotland to acquit themselves as becomes Christians and Scotchmen in regard to pecuniary contributions from American slaveholders, and, in particular, the contribution sent them from Charleston, South Carolina; and not to accept of such, but to refuse, and send them back to the donors, accompanied with a faithful and plain-dealing testimony to the American churches against slavery, universally allowed and practised by ministers and members of churches in the Southern States, by which 2½ millions of our fellow-men are bought and sold, bred, and forced to live like cattle, and shut out from all access to moral and religious knowledge.

"That the secretaries of this Society transmit these resolutions, with such further memorial in accordance therewith as the committee of the Society may judge fit, to the Moderator and others of the Free Presbytery of Glasgow, and to the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, or any other Evangelical Church; and to request that these bodies will, as early as possible, make known to this Society and the public the course they think right to pursue in this matter, so momentous and important to the interests of religion and humanity."

### Colonial Intelligence.

**JAMAICA.**—(From our own Correspondent.)—The Christmas holidays have never passed away in a better manner than the last. The conduct of the country people, and even the towns' people has been exemplary. The papers teem with praise; and all are exclaiming, that even

enemies must acknowledge a great improvement has taken place. This is one glorious result of freedom.

Wages are being lowered in this parish. Where the 1s. 3d. cannot be reduced to 1s., the task or job is increased. It is said that since August the planters have combined to reduce the rate of wages by turning out of employment as many hands as possible. At the commencement of crop another desperate effort was made; and I know that on several properties more work is done for the daily price. During crop the labourers work very hard; they strain themselves; and in many instances I am sure that the job work will not be so well done by its being increased. As a sample of the current rate of wages in this parish, I give you the following. On one estate they pay the labourers this crop time 1s. 6d. sterling to work from day-dawn to sunset. This agreement was made after a fruitless attempt to reduce the price by giving a large piece of task-work for a small price. Two other estates give 1s. 3d. for certain job-work, for less than which last year they gave 1s. 6d. The people commence at six and finish at three o'clock. They take no time for breakfast, and labour very hard. The boiler-men and labourers about the yards are paid by the syphon; a very uncertain method, as the number ground depends very much upon the steam-engine or the water-wheel, the quality of the cane, the efficiency of the cattle, &c. Often do they labour from morning till the middle of the night, and earn only 1s. 6d., sometimes 2s. Of course, there are certain situations in which the labourer earns more. The friends of abolition endeavour to impress upon the labourers' minds the importance of doing a fair day's work, and of doing the work well. Bad work in the field will ruin any estate. I find that the best educated labourers work best; and every planter that I know does homage to the gospel (perhaps unawares) by praising those people for their good work and behaviour, who happen to be the best instructed in the ways of religion.

Immigration is not much talked of. I believe its advocates are ashamed to speak of it, but still obstinately persist in promoting it. The House of Assembly has voted 30,000*l.* for immigration purposes. Chinese immigration is a most mischievous scheme. If I understand it rightly, no females will be brought; and this will bring a flood of debauchery upon the land. Ignorant black females are proud of having a white or even coloured—what shall I say? not husband—they are vain of being the "housekeeper" of a white man. For this is the gentle term the white gentlemen of Jamaica give their concubines. This feature of the Chinese immigration scheme is truly frightful.

The drought has been very severe. In St. James's, Trelawney, and other windward parts, it has ruined the crop, and will force some proprietors to relinquish sugar-making. This is what I hear. Last Friday, the 26th, the rains set in, and have continued until now. St. James and Hanover have been thus blessed; but, as they seem to be only "norths," we cannot tell how long they will last. Several planters have freely acknowledged to me, that the seasons have been most irregular and unfavourable ever since 1838.

A census is to be taken in June, which will have very important results. It will, I doubt not, show the needlessness of immigration, the saving of infant life since freedom, and the consequent increase of the population. I have not yet seen, or even heard of, the particulars of this or any of the new laws. The legislature seems to think that ignorance is bliss, for the new laws are in operation for months before a private person can possibly obtain a copy of them. Even then it is scarcely possible to obtain them; and the Government employs no means of diffusing a knowledge of them among the people.

**THE WEATHER AND THE CROPS.**—On these most interesting topics we have been making extended and anxious inquiries. The answers received have varied much, graduating from earnest hopefulness to gloom and despondency. Our own inference, from all the information we have been enabled to procure, is, that the long-continued drought has done serious injury in almost all quarters; that, in most cases, the injury done is now irreparable; but that, in a few localities, the crop, if visited with immediate and copious showers, would still prove moderately abundant and remunerative. Yesterday, a most intelligent gentleman, of experience, from Clarendon, gave us rather a distressing account of the effects of the drought in his district. It is certainly strange, that during the last five seasons, being those which have elapsed since the emancipation, and during which the resources in labour have been most crippled, we have had a succession of droughts. As to the final results on the several crops, we are not as yet prepared to pronounce an opinion. There is still some lingering hope that a change may take place, which will prevent our staple growths falling below a moderate average.—*Royal Gazette.*

**IMMIGRATION.**—The important subject of Immigration continues, it would appear, to engage the attention of the Colonial Secretary. Some arrangements were in progress, by which only one agent was to be employed for all the colonies requiring immigrants, and a regular *rota* was to be laid down.—*Morning Journal.*

**THE GOVERNOR'S SPEECH** on opening the legislative session contains the following:—"I am deeply grieved to learn, that the continued drought has seriously injured the crop in some districts of the island. \* \* The peaceable and orderly demeanour of the population during the late Christmas season was the subject of general remark, and afforded me the most sincere gratification."—*Jamaica Times.*

**GOOD WORK.**—The *Jamaica Times* quotes the following with admiration:—"An estate in the parish of St. Ann, using a cattle-mill and one set of coppers, manufactured fifty-eight hogsheads super sugar in four weeks, ending 16th February, working only five days each week. The total expenditure one hundred and twenty-seven pounds four shillings. This is a fact, and no mistake; and, for the information of the captious, it is as well to state that the hogsheads are forty-inch truss hoop, and the produce second to none in the parish." The quantity is very large, and the cost about one-half of what has been usually paid for it.

**TOBAGO.**—**THE PEASANTRY.**—The holidays, we are happy to say, have passed away in a remarkably peaceful and orderly manner. With a slight exception, the people have "turned out" to the entire satisfaction of their employers. There is evidently among the peasantry



a more settled state of things, and a greater earnestness to enjoy the ordinary comforts of life. This leads us to hope favourably for the planting interest.

**THE CROP.**—A favourable change has taken place in the weather. We are at present blessed with a fine, strong, steady breeze, not only favourable for windmills, but also for ripening the cane, which is of very great importance.—*Tobago Chronicle*.

**GRENADA.**—The weather in the early part of the month was complained of as excessively wet, particularly in the parishes of St. Patrick and St. John; and a stop had been put to sugar-making in consequence. A change, however, had taken place, and it had become exceedingly propitious.—*Free Press*.

**DOMINICA.**—Crop has commenced on many estates, and we are happy to learn the canes are yielding well, and produce good sugar. The weather is beautifully fine.—*Dominica Colonist*.

**ST. VINCENT'S.**—The *St. Vincent's Observer* warmly recommends the selling of small portions of land to the peasantry, in order to lessen their inducements to migrate to other islands.

**ST. CHRISTOPHER.**—The bill which passed the legislature in the last session, to throw obstacles in the way of labourers emigrating to other colonies, did not receive the assent of the Governor-in-chief, to whom it was sent for approval, but was quietly suffered to "drop to the ground."—*St. Kitt's Advertiser*.

**TRINIDAD.**—CRIME.—At the approaching session of the Supreme Court in this island there is no case for trial.—*Berbice Gazette*.

**BRITISH GUIANA.**—IMMIGRATION.—Our prospects of immigration from the West coast of Africa have so far improved that we now have the *Arabian*, emigrant transport, in port, with 103 liberated Africans on board; detained there, however, in consequence of some mitigated cases of small pox having appeared among them. We should deceive those at home, however, whom it is our paramount object rightly to inform, if we did not state that, even by this increased number of immigrants from Sierra Leone, as compared with former voyages of the two transport vessels, we are by no means impressed with a favourable view of immigration from this source. It has now become obvious that a spirit hostile to the emigration of the African reigns at Sierra Leone, which, joined to the restriction with respect to the sexes, operates strongly and banefully against our hopes in that quarter. The eye of hope is now alone turned steadfastly East. It is there that the day-star of our prosperity must arise, if prosperity be ever again destined to shine upon these colonies. On the subject of immigration, especially Coolie Immigration, the inhabitants of the sister country of Berbice have been so far more energetically bestirring themselves than our community, that they have prepared a very strong petition to the Colonial Office on the subject, which, in all probability, will be despatched by the present opportunity.—*Royal Gazette*.

The Court of Policy has passed, or is about to pass, a measure, for facilitating Lord Stanley's plan for the Immigration of Chinese. The inhabitants of this colony are about to be taxed for the introduction of immigrants all the way from the Eastern seas, while as yet it is not certain that the crying wants of the agriculturists may not be supplied from the nearer coast of Africa.—*Guiana Times*.

The restrictions placed upon the immigration of Chinese labourers by Lord Stanley are strongly complained of by the Demerara press. After the failure of the attempts at Sierra Leone to obtain free labour, they look with very little hope to the supply of Chinese labour likely to be obtained from British possessions in the Eastern seas, under the regulations of the Colonial Office. The regulations of the Colonial Office, to be observed in the importation of Chinese labourers from Singapore or other British ports, are complex, and calculated to retard any extensive operations; for they first of all allow the immigrants to indent for five years, but at the same time declare that the contract may be rescinded by them on arriving at their destination, provided they find that they have been misled as to their labour. This is offering a temptation to the immigrants to "repudiate" their contracts, and must render parties very much afraid of entering into such insecure agreements. The payment of their expenses by the colony will scarcely be looked upon as a compensation by the colonists, in the event of such breach of agreement, and is not calculated in a great degree to reconcile them to such contradictory and puzzling conditions.—*Royal Gazette*.

**THE WEATHER.**—This colony has suffered much in several quarters by drought, which impeded the navigation of the punt trenches and stunted the growth of the young canes. Some seasonable rains, however, had fallen.

**NEW SOURCE OF LABOUR.**—At a late meeting in this colony of the Society for Promoting the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Mr. Young stated that some of the River Indians had become cane-cutters on the estates of Sparta, Coffee Grove, Hampton Court, and Anna Regina, on the Arabian coast. On Anna Regina they have exhibited steadiness and continuity of work for two years. Mr. Hancock stated that a movement of the same kind existed in the opposite part of the colony.—*Royal Gazette*.

**THE WAY TO HAVE NO LABOURERS.**—We have received information of proceedings on Philadelphia estate, which go far to explain why some planters in Guiana can get no labour. A Dr. Munro, who is part proprietor of this estate, has gone out with a determination to be the estate's doctor, and the people are told that one guilder per month will be stopped from their wages to pay him, whether they choose to employ him or not! If we thought the people would wait for our advice, we would recommend them, should this be insisted on, to seek work elsewhere.

**BERBICE.**—COOLY IMMIGRATION.—The *Louisa Baillie* had arrived at Calcutta, with the loss of 20 per cent. of the Coolies. This fearful mortality amongst those people was the consequence of intense cold in rounding the Cape of Good Hope, notwithstanding every precaution humanity could suggest. At their embarkation here, they were sup-

plied with warm clothing to meet the change of climate they were certain to meet; but it never was anticipated that it was not until reaching the latitude of the Cape the necessity would arise, and at such a season. Its occurrence is to us most unfortunate, as, previous to the present mail, Lord Stanley had written to the Governor General of India, to report his opinion as to the emigration of Coolies to the West Indies, the Home Government being willing to remove all restrictions. We suppose his Excellency can only report as to its probable effects and expediency, from the appearance and circumstances of those who have already experienced the work and the climate; and but for this accident all would have been most favourable. It cannot, however, affect us in any other way than in delaying the measure till means be adopted, by fixing the season of departure, or probably substituting steam conveyance, to prevent the recurrence of such a catastrophe. Capt. Webb, formerly of the *Mary Hartley*, writes Messrs. Laing, Brothers, and Co., from Calcutta, that notwithstanding the dreary voyage and the mortality, those who had returned had reported so favourably of the trial given to sugar-growing here, as to raise the greatest desire in their countrymen to embark the moment restriction is removed. Cooly emigration, then, is at least certain, and its commencement not far distant. Her Majesty's Government have, at length, seen the necessity existing for giving us justice; and although somewhat of the latest, let us be thankful for the boon.—*Berbice Gazette*.

The *Egyptian* transport, lying for emigrants off the Gambia, has been wrecked at the mouth of that river.—*Ibid*.

**MAURITIUS.**—EXCESS OF LABOUR.—It is an admitted fact that an increasing quantity of vegetables is now brought to market, and at a price so much reduced as to be barely remunerative. On this the *Mauritius Watchman* remarks:—"From this fact would not any man who reasons or reflects conclude that numbers of the Coolies destined for the sugar plantations are employed in raising vegetables? And is this not rendered probable by the additional fact that the planters cannot pay their Coolies at the present moment, and that many tons of sugar have been sold already, and much more will be sold, to pay wages? And when the sugar is gone, will not the mills and implements of husbandry follow? for the labourer must be paid his hire; and though at present the special magistrates are content merely to represent this state of things to government, they will soon be obliged to put the law in force against the non-paying planter. The day is not far off—not, perhaps, further than the end of 1843—when the *petit proprietaire*, who *bona fide* owns his few acres, will be abundantly supplied from the *grand proprietaire*, who is merely the tenant-at-will of some *Commissionaire*, who, with his tenant, will no longer be able to pay the wages of the Coolies employed upon the estates; and what then will be the use of Coolies to him?"

## Foreign Intelligence.

**UNITED STATES.**—THE GAG.—The gag rule, precluding the reception of anti-slavery petitions, has been re-enacted in the House of Representatives by a majority of one.

**THE POPE'S BULL.**—Mr. O'Connell's address to the Cincinnati repealers has brought to the notice of the American slaveholders the Pope's bull against slavery, which had been altogether suppressed by the Catholic clergy in that region. It has created a considerable sensation.

**A KIDNAPPER BAFLED.**—Mr. Baker, one of the police-officers of New York, whilst returning home a little after midnight, a few days since, fell in with three villains who were in the act of kidnapping a woman. One of them was dragging her along the pavement, and the other two appeared to be interested. The officer immediately interfered, and ordered the release of the woman; one of the lookers-on came up to him, and struck him in the face, upon which Mr. Baker drew one of Colt's pistols, and shot him. The other attempted an assault, but retreated before the weapon of death, and began to pelt the officer with stones. He immediately fired another shot, when both the villains took to their heels, and the woman was saved.—*Cincinnati Weekly Herald*.

**KIDNAPPING BY LAW.**—Some time during the last summer, a coloured girl, born free, only fourteen years old, and a resident of the town of Manchester, U. S., paid a visit to a friend on the other side the river. Either through choice or necessity she remained all night, without, however, having the smallest intention of becoming a resident. During the night she was arrested by the police, and, not having her free papers with her, was lodged in jail. Being perfectly ignorant of the law, and having no one to counsel or advise her, the unfortunate creature was detained in jail forty-five days, and then, by order of the court, sold for jail fees! She was sold for the period of forty-five years to pay the sum of forty-five dollars, was purchased by a Negro trader, and carried into captivity in a strange land, where she was sold again. We are informed that she is, if alive, at this moment in Louisiana.—*Leeds Mercury*.

**AIDING SLAVES TO ESCAPE.**—The dangers now incident to efforts of this class seem to attach a romantic interest to them quite to the taste of some transatlantic freemen. We find the following instance in the *Western Citizen*, under the characteristic head of "Kidnapping in Winchester:"—"One of the boldest and most successful attempts at kidnapping we have ever known was undertaken in this town on Wednesday night of last week. Some fortnight or more since, a man who registered his name as C. Turner made his appearance in Winchester, having apparently no kind of business with any of our white citizens. After remaining a day or two at Danner's Hotel, his conduct was rather singular, and created suspicions that all was not right. He left, however, as appears, without informing any one where he was going, and was not heard of until Thursday, the 21st, when it seems he had returned to Winchester the night before, and succeeded in carrying off six negroes belonging to Bushrod Taylor, Esq. The negroes were not missed until about eleven o'clock on Thursday, and immediate steps were taken to pursue them. Messengers were dispatched to different parts of the country, and, upon the arrival of two in Chambersburg, Pa., they found that the negroes, in company with a white man, had left in the cars for Philadelphia four hours before. Thus it would appear that the negroes must have started at an early hour in the night, and travelled all night with considerable speed. A letter



was received here on Monday (Christmas day), post-marked Philadelphia, in which the writer stated that Mr. Taylor's servants had safely arrived in that place on Thursday night, and that Mr. T. need not trouble himself about them, as they were well and on their way to Canada. This letter was directed to a free negro man, and stated that some one would be on again in a few days, to take off several other blacks."

**THE FREEMAN ABOUT TO BE SOLD INTO SLAVERY AT WASHINGTON.**—The following is the petition to Congress of William Jones:—

*To the Congress of the United States.*

The humble petition of William Jones, now a prisoner in the United States jail in Washington city, respectfully represents—

That your memorialist is a free citizen of the United States, born free in the state of Virginia, and has always been an industrious and honest citizen, chargeable with no crime; that, while enjoying his liberty in this city, he was seized, and, without any charge of crime, was thrown into jail, where he has been confined for several weeks, and now is advertised to be sold as a slave by the Marshal of the United States to pay the expenses of his imprisonment, unless his owner shall appear; that your petitioner has no owner but his God, and owes no service but to his country; that it is hard for him to be imprisoned without fault, and then sold to pay the expenses. He therefore prays the Congress will exert their powers for the protection of the weak, and procure for him that liberty and justice which are his right, and which he has a special claim for in the district which is under the exclusive legislation of your honourable body.

Witness: D. A. HALL.  
Washington Jail, December 28, 1843.

WILLIAM J. JONES,  
mark.

**TEXAS.—ANNEXATION.**—Extract of a letter from *A Genevese Traveller* (correspondent of the *Times*):—

*New York, March 30.*

At the moment when the Montezuma took her departure, this city was filled with rumours that a treaty had been signed, and would be laid before the senate in a few days. The stock-jobbers and speculators of Wall-street were in consternation, and every species of stock was in a greater or less degree affected. The alarm was at its height on the 19th, after which day the alarmists and the alarmed gradually recovered from the paroxysm. The general opinion seems now to be, that a treaty has been negotiated, and would have been signed, but that a special minister (Mr. Henderson) was appointed, and duly authorised to close the affair; and it was expected he would have arrived in Washington before this date. The friends of Texas assert, with the most perfect confidence, that the American senate will ratify the treaty; adding, as if by "authority," that in the event of a refusal to ratify, Texas will immediately cast herself into the arms of Great Britain, where she will be promptly and cordially received.

Public opinion is undoubtedly much divided as to what is the real state of facts on this subject. I will, therefore, briefly give you my opinion, and allow me to add, that it is given after much inquiry, due deliberation, and a knowledge of circumstances that warrant me in assuming the position that I do assume:—

First.—In my opinion, no treaty providing for the annexation of Texas to the United States has been negotiated, nor has any progress been made in such a negotiation.

Second.—If negotiated, it has not been signed, and probably, in the present state of affairs, will not be signed.

Third.—If signed and presented to the senate, it will be rejected by that department of the Government beyond all doubt. On this point there is no uncertainty. It requires (the senators being all present) 35 votes to ratify a treaty. At no time during the session could 27 votes have been procured in favour of a treaty for annexation. You may, therefore, consider this question as settled so long as the present senate continue in power.

From the *Morning Chronicle* of yesterday:—

"The accounts from the United States bring the somewhat exciting intelligence, that two Texan envoys, Henderson and Van Zandt, had arrived in Washington, to conclude a treaty for the annexation of that republic to the United States. This, however, is avowedly a Tyler scheme, got up with electioneering views, and for the purpose of damaging both Clay and Van Buren in those states where the absorption of Texas and the Oregon are popular. Whilst American statesmen are themselves so little serious on the subject, the Texans seem also to be playing a game. President Houston is shrewdly suspected of not being favourable to annexation, and of having sent envoys as much for the sake of receiving a refusal, and then proceeding to Europe in search of treaties, as with any hope of coming to a satisfactory conclusion in the present state of parties at Washington. It appears almost certain that the Senate would pass no such bill, unless acted upon by a moral coercion not likely to be successfully got up and applied. It would, however, be unwise to reckon the Texan question as decidedly at an end, even for the session, until it is seen what position Mr. Calhoun will take up, and what influence he may wield."

**HAYTI.—TRADE.**—The restrictions imposed upon communications between Hayti and this colony having been removed, a trade has sprung up between the two islands, and vessels now frequently sail for and arrive from the former. Mahogany, logwood, hides, coffee, cattle, &c., are received here, and correspondents are established in Hayti by parties in this city who purpose carrying on a regular trade in those and other articles.—*Jamaica Morning Journal*.

**INTERCOURSE WITH FOREIGNERS.**—It is known that the constitution of Hayti denies to whites the privilege of possessing immovable property within the limits of the republic. The enlightened Haytians consider this, speaking philosophically, as a bad law in itself; but they also consider it as a defensive and indispensable law in the state of their relations with white nations, and regard it as the shield of their liberties. Some, however, think that this law is only applicable to countries which have not abolished slavery in their colonies; and letters from Port-Republican, of February last, announce that a modification on this point is about to be moved by a member of the Chamber of Representatives. In

this we reap the fruit of our miserable policy. If the proposed motion triumphs, or, in other terms, if the faculty of possessing and establishing manufacturing and agricultural establishments in Hayti be accorded to nations which have abolished slavery within their dominions, England alone will be the gainer. England, more able or more bold, if not more generous than other nations, has, within the last ten years, left all behind upon this point. The English alone—English capital and English hands alone will be admitted to open for themselves in St. Domingo new sources of prosperity and riches, and that in consequence of having been able to adopt resolutely, courageously, and honestly, a measure which is required by the genius of humanity and advancement, and because we did not take the proper opportunity of proffering emancipation to the negroes of our colonies in the Antilles.—*Sicle (French paper)*.

**CUBA.**—Extract of a letter from Havana, dated Feb. 14, 1844:—"The whole Island of Cuba is at this present moment a scene of the most horrid butchery. Torments and cruelty are practised upon the slaves, who are in a thorough state of dogged discontent, and conspiracy for general insurrection; which has alarmed the proprietors to such a degree, as to make them hail our efforts to put an end to the traffic as a blessing, instead of an attempt to ruin their interests. But, can it be believed?—some half dozen slavers, and the anxiety of our rulers to profit by the disgraceful traffic, has influenced the highest authority to suffocate the most anxious representations prepared for the purpose, and praying for the entire suppression of the slave-trade from Africa, by the most outrageous threats of the exercise of the despotic power which is committed to the Spanish captains-general, and made use of by General O'Donnell towards some of the richest proprietors, nobles of Spain, who waited upon his excellency with a draft of these proposed representations. Many estates have been destroyed by fire; hundreds of negroes shot by the military; many have died under the lash; and every well-disposed person as regards this subject is watched, and all their acts reported in the highest quarter, in consequence of which many respectable people have been ordered off the island at short notice."

**SURINAM.**—Some Surinam fishermen, about the middle of last month, fell in with, and boarded a schooner, bound from Martinique to Cayenne. They found the master covered with wounds, and either dead or on the point of expiring. The crew, consisting of two coloured persons and one white, they carried prisoners into Paramaribo, where, of course, the Dutch navy men, indebted to the slave-owners for numerous hospitalities, some of them not of a cleanly or moral character, (but it is only a resident of the West Indies who can conceive an adequate notion of these foul civilities,) evinced the readiest alacrity to secure them, and deliver them over to summary punishment. Murder, no well-constituted mind can applaud. But, if two Englishmen were taken prisoners by blacks, say at the mouth of the Niger, and menaced with perpetual servitude, which inhabitant of England would condemn them; if, in order to regain their freedom, they cut the throat of every one who impeded their escape? In which village of happy England would they not be greeted as the valiant and adroit preservers of national spirit? And have the Africans no right to vindicate from invasion? The Paramaribo journals dwell on the atrocity of this assassination, forgetful of the injustice and cruelty which provoked it. They name the vessel the *Creole*; yet this may be a blunder, occasioned by a confused recollection of the Bahama affair. The vessel will be sent to Cayenne, and the two patriots will be summarily disposed of. Yet, for freedom, the stroke was worth striking.—The British Commissioner, Schenley, appears to have been doing his duty at the latest dates, for his deer, monkeys, and other specimens of natural history, were poisoned; medical men were threatened with ruin if they practised for him; and he and his family were assailed with discharges of human excrement, as they sat in their own gallery.—*Guiana Times*.

**GREECE.**—The new constitution contains the following articles:—

"Art. 4. Personal freedom is inviolable; no individual can be prosecuted, arrested, or imprisoned or molested, otherwise than as the law directs.

"Art. 9. In Greece man shall neither be bought nor sold; the slave, whether by birth or purchase, of every race or religion, shall be free from the moment when he sets his foot on the soil of Greece."

## Miscellanea.

**SLAVE-TRADE.**—We in our last gave Cape news to the 1st of December, but have since received some papers of earlier date, in one of which we regret to observe mention of a report current in the settlement, that her Majesty's brig-of-war *Rapid*, of 10 guns, Lieutenant-Commanding E. C. Earle, belonging to the Cape station, had been sunk near Benguela, after a smart fight with a Spanish slaver, and that every soul on board had perished.—*United Service Calcutta Gazette*, Feb. 9.

**STEAM POWER versus SLAVE-TRADE.**—The advantage of employing steam-vessels in the suppression of the slave-trade has been manifested in the recent success of the *Thunderbolt*, Commodore Broke, which captured three vessels during the nights of the 2nd and 3rd of Jan., with upwards of 1,200 slaves on board; one of them having 660, another 327, and the third 246. The first vessel was seen at twenty minutes past ten at night, on the port-beam, when the *Thunderbolt* immediately got her steam up and went in chase, and in little more than an hour she was alongside the slaver, and sent her boats to board her. Immediately after she had taken possession of this vessel, she observed another, and upon giving chase soon came up with her. She also proved to be laden with slaves. The third was taken, after a short chase, on the following night.—*Hampshire Telegraph*.

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